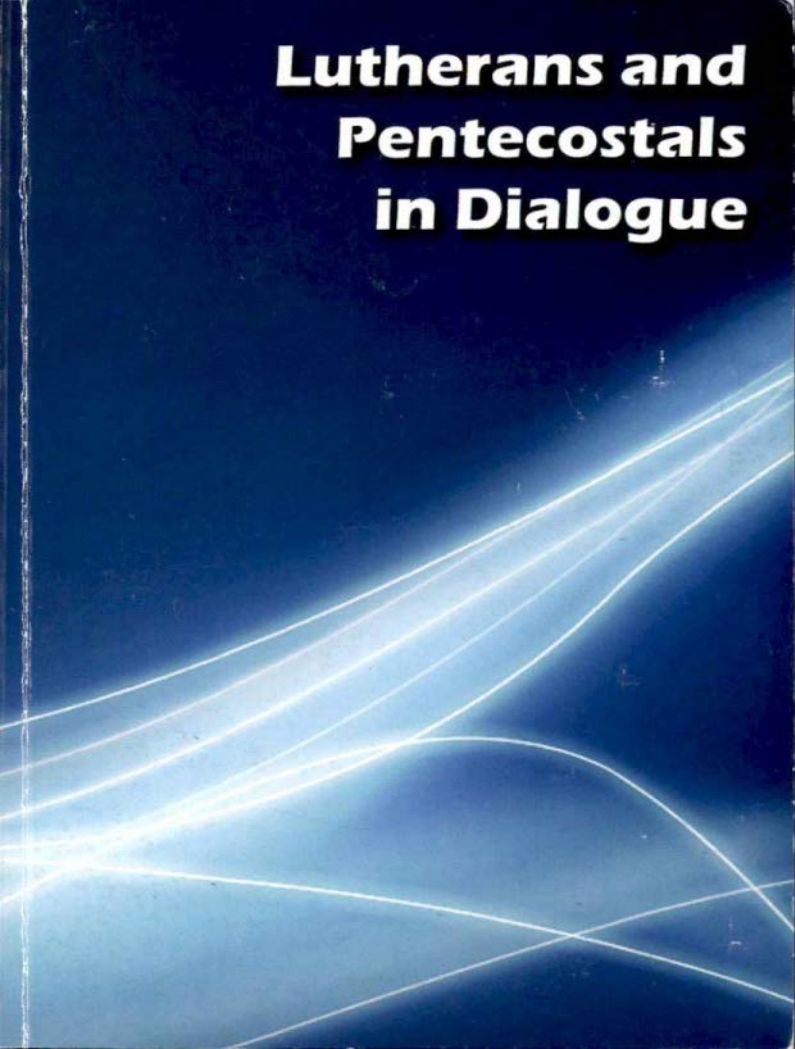
Lutherans and Pentecostals in Dialogue



Lutherans and Pentecostals in Dialogue

Institute for Ecumenical Research
Strasbourg, France

The David Du Plessis Center
for Christian Spirituality
Pasadena, California, United States

The European Pentecostal
Charismatic Research Association
Zürich, Switzerland

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To order copies, please contact:
Institute for Ecumenical Research
8, rue Gustave Klotz
F-67000 Strasbourg
France
StrasEcum@ecumenical-institute.org

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1. Introduction

This handbook was produced by members of a six-year Lutheran-Pentecostal Study Group initiated by the Institute for Ecumenical Research in Strasbourg, France. The handbook is designed to facilitate dialogue between Lutherans and Pentecostals. Drawing on the study group's experience, it presents insights gained and lessons learned and aims to provide a resource for further dialogue initiatives.

Ecumenical dialogue between Pentecostals and Lutherans is still very young. In fact, as of yet there have been no formal dialogues between the two on an international level. On the other hand, ecumenists and leaders of both church families have long recognized the importance of engaging in dialogue with each other and of improving relations. The Institute for Ecumenical Research in Strasbourg held a number of conferences on the topic during the 1970s, sponsored a book-length study of charismatic movements during the 1980s, and has maintained a strong interest in the subject in subsequent years.

Many church leaders have shared that interest. In 1996, at a meeting of the Secretaries of Christian World Communions, then-General Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) Gunnar Stålsett approached Cecil M. Robeck Jr., a Pentecostal Professor of Church History and Ecumenics at Fuller Theological Seminary, and broached the subject of dialogue between Pentecostals and the LWF. The matter was pursued further by Sven Oppegaard, Secretary for Ecumenical Affairs of the LWF, and Staalsett's successor as General Secretary, Ishmael Noko. Both held numerous informal conversations with Robeck. A number of factors stood in the way of establishing formal dialogue at the point, however. These included temporary institutional and budgetary reasons but also a number of unresolved methodological questions. Recognizing that Pentecostals were very different ecclesially, theologically, and culturally from previous dialogue partners, the Lutherans felt that this dialogue, if it were to be effective, should do justice to those differences and develop its own topics and methods.

It was at this time that Kenneth G. Appold, who just had joined the staff of the Ecumenical Institute in Strasbourg, independently approached LWF executives with a proposal to pursue dialogue with Pentecostals. He stumbled through open doors and was encouraged to establish contact with Robeck. As a result, the two decided that a small group of Pentecostal and Lutheran theologians would meet in December 2004 in Strasbourg. It was a very encouraging meeting and quickly revealed a desire of all participants to continue the talks. It was also a very productive meeting, establishing both a methodology and a set of topics for further exploration. The group returned to Strasbourg in September 2005; met again in Pasadena, California, in December 2006; in Thousand Oaks, California, in January 2008; in Zürich, Switzerland, in December 2008, and in Tampere, Finland, in January 2010.

As the participants got acquainted and shared their histories and ecumenical vision, it quickly became clear that this dialogue would be unprecedented in a number of ways. For one thing, Pentecostals expressed a concern that their existing dialogues with other churches tended to be structured around their partners' terms, allowing insufficient space for Pentecostals to speak a Pentecostal language. This dialogue, all agreed, should be different in that regard. The members chose an overarching theme that began not with a traditional list of doctrines but with an experiential issue: "How Do We Encounter Christ?" Both partners could relate to the question and the group found the approach both stimulating and successful. Subtopics would include explorations of how each of church families encounters Christ in worship, in proclamation and the word, in the sacraments/ordinances, and in the charismata. In addition, meetings almost always included visits of each other's worship services—and reflection on those visits proved immensely rewarding.

When the group first met, it appeared that Lutherans and Pentecostals represented two very different church traditions. But the members soon found that they had more in common than they first

expected. While much of that commonality lay in matters of faith, the group also recognized that they shared some history. Since the 1960s, more than a few Lutherans across the globe have embraced charismatic elements in their faith and practice. For a number of years, talks had been taking place between Lutherans and Pentecostals in Scandinavia and other places. Additionally, there were issues arising among charismatic Lutherans in Brazil, Malaysia, and elsewhere. The Ethiopian Evangelical (Lutheran) Mekane Yesus Church had experienced the introduction of Pentecostal elements in its worship, reflecting a trend visible in the churches of the majority world. These examples underscored the urgency and timeliness of Lutheran-Pentecostal dialogue. As the conversations progressed, bonds of trust were established and "things came together" in a very encouraging way. During the past years both teams were pushed beyond assumptions and presuppositions previously nurtured. The ecumenical enterprise as well as its methodology found a fresh expression.

This handbook has three main sections. The first explores goals of Lutheran-Pentecostal dialogue. The second presents an analysis of the the topics that the study group covered, including a number of key insights gained in the process. The third section is more historical and seeks to introduce members of the two church families to each other—Lutherans to Pentecostals and Pentecostals to Lutherans. Much more could be said, of course. As rewarding as this initiative was, its members also recognized that they were merely scratching the surface. Our agenda was preparatory; if we had succeeded in answering every question, there would be no need for further dialogue—and further dialogue between Pentecostals and Lutherans is something all the Study Group members wish to encourage very strongly.

Kenneth G. Appold
Jean-Daniel Plüss
July 2010

Lutheran-Pentecostal Study Group Participants

Pentecostal
Jean-Daniel Plüss, co-chair
Cecil M. Robeck Jr.
Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen
Edmund Rybarczyk
Nico Horn
Tham Wan Yee

Lutheran
Kenneth G. Appold, co-chair
Theodor Dieter
Matti Repo
Sarah Hinlicky Wilson

II. GOALS

1. To think and speak appropriately about the other, not bearing false witness against each other.

Dialogue should enable Pentecostals and Lutherans to stop repeating past prejudices, stereotypes, and misperceptions. From the very beginning of the movement some Pentecostals "came out" of historic churches and took others with them when they left. But it is also the case that Pentecostals have been forced out of many historic churches. Many Lutherans view the Pentecostal movement as a threat, proselytizing or luring their own members away. Lutherans, along with other classical Christians, have often viewed Pentecostals as being theologically misguided, psychologically unbalanced, sociologically inconsequential, ecclesiologically radical, existentially fanatical, and in some cases as indisputably demonic. At the same time, Pentecostal Christians have often described historic Christians, including Lutherans, as cold, compromising people who may hold to the outward form of godliness but deny its very power (II Timothy 3:5) or who live in a state of apostasy.

2. To be mutually enriched by each other's tradition.

The fullness of God's gifts is greater than any church has received. Lutherans and Pentecostals are both heirs to rich and meaningful Christian traditions containing a wide variety of gifts and witnesses, so mutual encounter can help us benefit from the gifts found in other traditions. Examples might include how we approach the Scriptures, worship, charisms, and service to the world.

3. To provide opportunities for mutual correction.

Our traditions have developed largely in isolation from each other, taking our own way of doing things for granted and losing sight of our

own shortcomings. Dialogue gives us the opportunity to see ourselves through the eyes of a trusted partner who can look at our tradition from the outside, help us recognize our failings and missteps, and work with us toward a more faithful future.

4. To enable cooperation in ministry, mission, and social outreach.

Through dialogue, we strive to recognize each other as brothers and sisters in Christ and to enjoy each other's fellowship. Praying and studying Scripture together is a powerful witness to our essential relationship as sisters and brothers obedient to Christ. Lutherans and Pentecostals alike desire all the people of the earth to know God's love in Jesus Christ, so we are together committed to evangelization. Likewise, we hear our Lord's command to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick, and uplift the downtrodden. Our common commitments could be lived out even more effectively through mutual cooperation.

5. To resolve and avoid conflicts between our churches.

Lutherans and Pentecostals have overlapping fields of ministry. Because of their rapid growth, and the fact that the growth sometimes comes at the expense of Lutherans, Pentecostals are often viewed as a "threat" by Lutherans, leading to accusations of proselytism and "sheep stealing." In areas where Lutherans are in the majority, Pentecostals have felt discrimination and sometimes even hostility. Dialogue does not conceal such conflicts but provides an excellent opportunity to address and resolve them. Dialogue also gives Lutherans resources to reassess attitudes and policies toward charismatics within their own churches.

III. Insights and Analysis

1. Starting Points

Identifying the Dialogue Partners. It is relatively easy to identify the Lutheran dialogue partner, namely the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation, which "confesses the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the only source and norm of its doctrine, life, and service. It sees in the three Ecumenical Creeds and in the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, especially in the unaltered Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism of Martin Luther, a pure exposition of the Word of God" (Constitution of the LWF, §II).

It is more difficult to identify the Pentecostal partner. Pentecostalism is a vast, rapidly growing, and rapidly changing movement with many independent congregations. All the same, Pentecostals do have structures more or less parallel to Lutheran ones. Among these are individual denominations (e.g., Assemblies of God, Church of God in Christ, International Pentecostal Holiness Church, Foursquare Gospel Church, etc.). There are also umbrella structures, such as the Pentecostal World Fellowship, the Pentecostal European Conference, and the World Assemblies of God Fellowship. While these trinitarian groups might demonstrate differences in focus, nevertheless they would recognize one another as full partners in nearly all aspects of Pentecostal ministry. It should be noted that the Pentecostals mentioned here look to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as normative for all of faith and life and they accept the historic teachings of the church.[1]

[1] The members of this dialogue acknowledge that there are Pentecostal groups known as Oneness or Jesus' Name who wish to express their faith in

Method for Dialogue. At the outset of our discussions it became clear that the usual ecumenical method for bilateral dialogue would not serve our specific circumstances well. When churches have formulated specific condemnations against each other, it makes sense to pursue a doctrinal course of reflection to work on the resolution of the disagreements, as for instance between Lutherans and Catholics. But while Lutherans and Pentecostals are not currently in fellowship with one another, this is not because of official mutual condemnation but rather because they developed in different circumstances with different histories. Like Lutheranism, Pentecostalism did not begin in a theological vacuum. Yet, while reading the Scriptures, Christians from many denominations who would become Pentecostals desired to receive the same kind of spiritual manifestations that they read about in the early church (e.g., Acts). Having received these experiences, they went back to the Scriptures to understand them. To this day, spirituality identifies Pentecostals more than institutions or doctrines do, though most Pentecostal have written statements of faith.

Given this reality, we sought to develop a method that suited both partners' lived experience as church communities. We began with a mutual sharing of a narrative of our experience of God's action in our own lives. We also made a point of experiencing Christian life together through participation in each other's worship services and daily prayer, as well as mutual testimony and consolation. The starting point in experience naturally gave rise to questions about doctrine and spiritual practice; it also set the doctrine and spiritual practice in a context that made them more accessible to the other partner. Sometimes we found similar or parallel concerns or commitments under widely different

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God in terms of the economy of salvation, in keeping with their understanding of the New Testament language. Lutherans would welcome dialogue with these Pentecostals, but for practical reasons this would need to be a different dialogue with a different set of partners.

terminology and practices. Imagination and intuition, rather than direct one-to-one comparison, served well in this regard.

Out of this method we proposed to continue our discussion under the rubric of "How Do We Encounter Christ…?" This allowed for a fruitful combination of experiential and doctrinal exploration in our ensuing discussions.

2. How Do We Encounter Christ?

The Pure Gospel of Christ. Christ is primarily understood in Lutheran theology and piety as the savior on account of his sacrificial atonement in the crucifixion and his resurrection from the dead. As a result, Lutheran theology has historically placed more emphasis on justification, in which we receive Christ's atoning work for us by faith alone, as a gift of the Holy Spirit, than on sanctification, the transformation ensuing from this faith. Especially in their rich musical tradition, Lutherans focus on their gratitude for and faith in Christ's self-giving for us and for the forgiveness of sins, leading to everlasting life. Lutherans are taught not to put trust in themselves or in signs of their sanctification, but continually to return to the promises of Christ. Luther's explanation of the second article of the Creed in the Small Catechism (which every Lutheran confirmand studies) illustrates the relationship between what Christ has done for us and how we receive it in faith: "I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father from eternity, and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, purchased and delivered me from all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil, not with gold or silver, but with His holy, precious blood and with His innocent suffering and death, in order that I may be wholly His own, and live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness, even as He is risen from the dead, lives and reigns to all eternity."

The Full Gospel of Christ. Pentecostals resonate with many aspects of Lutheran christology and its doctrine of salvation, as is evident in Pentecostals' hymns, prayers, statements of faith, and proclamation. At the same time, Pentecostals have additional emphases. Lutherans often mistakenly think that the addition lies in a one-sided Pentecostal focus on the Holy Spirit. Quite the contrary, Pentecostals teach that the gift of the Spirit is a specific endowment of power to witness to Christ. Pentecostal preaching focuses on the person of Christ far more than on the Spirit (or on the Father). A common Pentecostal formulation speaks of the "full gospel," a term borrowed from the Holiness tradition, which depicts Christ in a four- or fivefold office as justifier, sanctifier/baptizer in the Spirit, healer, and soon-coming king, in addition to the traditional language of the church about Christ as the Son of God, the second person of the Trinity, and the Word incarnate. Pentecostal christology attempts to expand the "comma" between the portions of the creed that talk about Jesus' birth and death by drawing attention to his life and ministry of healing, casting out demons, and feeding the hungry. Chiefly, Pentecostals expect that those things that Jesus the Christ did in the power of the Spirit during his earthly ministry, he can do and is now doing in the church and in the life of believers—saving and healing them, releasing them from evil, and providing for their daily needs. Pentecostals acknowledge that the term "full gospel" is sometimes used in an ideological way to criticize what some perceive to be the "half-full gospel" of other churches. The Pentecostal concept of "full gospel" nonetheless contains a critique that Lutherans should take seriously.

Differences in Church Cultures. It is evident that our respective christologies do not exclude or condemn each other, but they do have different focal points. Lutherans cultivate and assume that the primary locus of encounter with God is in the word and sacraments, out of a concern to be absolutely sure that they are having a genuine, authentic encounter with the God witnessed to by the Scriptures. Pentecostals cultivate and assume the possibility that encounters with God may take place outside

of any immediate or obvious relationship to the word and sacraments, but it is expected that such experiences will always be tested for their accordance with the word and discerned accordingly by the community. Lutherans accept the possibility of genuine encounters with God not directly mediated by word and sacrament; Pentecostals reject experiences that are in contradiction to the word.

Consideration of our respective histories helps to make sense of our different church cultures. Lutherans were fighting against "Schwärmer" (enthusiasts) who claimed that the word of the Scriptures was no longer necessary since the Spirit gave them immediate and new revelations. This would be equally problematic for Pentecostals, as one example from early Pentecostalism suggests. In a series of meetings in Virginia, in which people were speaking in tongues, one observer noted that, "There is a band of saints that do not read the Bible like saints [do]. They say the Bible is for unbelievers so they do not read it at all. O for someone to help. Won't you come and help if you can, and as soon as you can?"[2] In fact, early Pentecostals criticized Lutherans and other traditional Christians for failure to live in strict accordance with the word, for instance in Lutherans' rejection of pacificism and of speaking in tongues. On the other side, Pentecostals arose in a setting of rationalism that gave little room to the Spirit or to any experience of the living God. Such greatly different circumstances have led to misunderstandings and suspicion between us.

In sum, Lutherans have perceived Pentecostals as adding a lot of nonessential and suspect requirements that detract from the central work of Christ, whereas Pentecostals understand themselves as faithfully expecting all God has to offer. Pentecostals have perceived Lutherans as having a reductive and limited view of what Christ can actually do in

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[2] "The Work in Virginia," *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles, CA) 1:2 (October 1906): 3.

people's lives, whereas Lutherans understand themselves to be faithfully adhering to the pure, constitutive message of Christ. To put it aphoristically, our respective worries are "more than the pure gospel" versus "less than the full gospel."

3. How Do We Encounter Christ in Proclamation?

The Necessity of Discernment. It is important to begin with the observation that Lutherans and Pentecostals agree that all charismatic manifestations, beliefs, and theological claims are to be accompanied by a process of discernment in the community of the church and subject to Scripture as the "norming norm." The capacity for discernment is itself a gift of the Spirit ("it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us," Acts 15:28; see also 1 Corinthians 12:10). While special responsibility for discernment typically rests with the ministries of oversight among both Lutherans and Pentecostals, discernment is also a task that involves all believers.

Proclamation as a Task of the Whole Community. Lutherans and Pentecostals share the view that the worshiping congregation is a vital and active instrument in the encounter with Christ.

Pentecostals understand worship as an encounter with Christ in the Spirit and as a manifestation of fellowship that extends the invitation of Christ to all people (Acts 2:42*ff* and Acts 4:32*ff*). This has led to some distinctive Pentecostal worship practices. One of these is the testimony, that is, people witnessing to the continuing works of God in their lives. Another is the "altar call": the preacher's public invitation to prayer at the altar. This prayer can include committing oneself to Christ, confessing sins, seeking baptism in the Holy Spirit, consecrating oneself for ministry, or asking for healing or for any other need. More generally, the Pentecostal congregation is not only a receiving but also as a resonating body for proclamation. The response of the congregation to the word is itself part of the proclamation.

These distinctive practices, though not common in Lutheranism, are occasionally found, for example in Pietist settings. Overall Lutherans have tended to align proclamation with the preaching work of the pastor. This grows out of the Lutheran understanding of the sovereignty of the word that is to be heard and believed; the pastor's task is to speak the words of Christ to the faithful. However, hymnody has always been an essential part of Lutheran worship and creativity, and this has been a powerful means by which the congregation has participated in proclamation. The common practice of recitation of the creeds and responsive liturgies are further instances of this. For Lutherans, the "altar call" is the invitation to the Lord's Supper where people come forward to receive the body and blood of Christ for the forgiveness of sins. But there is no a priori reason for them to reject the Pentecostal altar call, which Lutherans may regard as an enactment of justification and sanctification -forgiveness of sins and renewal of life taking place as the person is "invited" to come to Christ.

The Hermeneutics of Scriptural Interpretation. Within their respective traditions, Lutherans and Pentecostals include a wide spectrum of hermeneutical approaches to the interpretation of Scripture. Generalizations referring to one tradition as "literalist" and the other as "non-literalist" are simply not tenable. We found many examples where each of our traditions takes some passages of Scripture literally and others spiritually or allegorically. Future discussion between Lutherans and Pentecostals on the question of biblical hermeneutics is essential, with the understanding that this is an ongoing matter of discernment within their own communities as well.

In conversations with Reformed leaders, Pentecostals described their hermeneutic in the following way: "While Pentecostals employ different methods and approaches to interpret the Bible, central to their interpretation is the conviction that the Word of God speaks to today's world. Pentecostals strive to hear what the Word of God has to say to

them and their era as they live in restored and ongoing continuity with the mighty acts of God recorded in the Bible. For Pentecostals, the Bible is a story; they read their lives into that story and that story into their lives. They stress returning to the experiences of God to which Scripture bears witness, but also moving forth into the world to witness *to* the deeds of God multiplied through them in new contexts."[3]

For Lutherans, Christ is the living Word of God, who stands at the center of the Bible's and therefore of the church's proclamation ("was Christum treibet"). Scripture is divided into God's commands (law; what God requires) and God's promises (gospel; what God gives). Lutherans are constantly concerned that the word of Scripture becomes the living word of the gospel both in public proclamation and in personal meditation. Lutherans' concentration on "Scripture alone" has developed in at least two distinct ways. On the one hand, Lutherans have a tradition of highly personal engagement with Scripture. Luther's catechisms, hymns, and prayers set in motion a rich tradition of devotional literature and practice that brings Scripture to life for the believer and the community as a whole. On the other hand, Lutherans have devoted a great deal of energy to scholarly research into the Scriptures. They shared early humanist commitments to learning biblical languages and established schools to aid in the study of these languages. Further, modern historical criticism basically began among German Lutherans. For Lutherans the proclamation of the gospel is not only a report about Christ but makes Christ present to the believers.

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[3] "Word and Spirit, Church and World: The Final Report of the International Dialogue between Representatives of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Some Classical Pentecostal Churches and Leaders: 1996-2000," §27, in *Growth in Agreement III: International Dialogue Texts and Agreed Statements, 1998-2005*, eds. Jeffrey Gros, Thomas F. Best, and Lorelei F. Fuchs (Geneva: WCC, 2007).

4. How Do We Encounter Christ in the Sacraments or Ordinances?

Terminology and Heritage. Lutherans use the term "sacraments," whereas Pentecostals tend to say "ordinances," though not exclusively. Lutherans have a relatively continuous theology of the sacraments. Pentecostals have a mixed heritage, absorbing and rejecting elements of the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition as well as the Reformed tradition. Pentecostal sacramental theology continues to develop.

Water Baptism. All Lutherans and all trinitarian Pentecostals baptize "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." While the majority of Pentecostals practice baptism by immersion, like Lutherans, some Pentecostals use various forms of applying water, including sprinkling and pouring.

Lutherans have universally endorsed infant baptism. The great majority of Pentecostals practice believer's baptism, but there are exceptions; the Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile and the International Pentecostal Holiness Church, for example, make allowances for infant baptism.

Although there are important differences between Lutheran and Pentecostal understandings of baptism, there are also significant convergences that a future dialogue may explore. Lutherans follow infant baptism with confirmation ("affirmation of baptism") at a later age, which stresses the necessity of personal acceptance in faith of the event that took place in one's infancy. Pentecostals generally "dedicate" their newborn children in public worship, stressing the welcome of the child into the church with the hope and expectation of a later personal acceptance of the faith. Both practices recognize the growth of faith over time, the importance of the community's role in faith formation, and the priority of God's action in a person's faith. For both of us, baptism is a vital event in the journey of faith, but it is not the end of that journey.

For Lutherans, baptism is adoption into the family of God, because it is an unbreakable promise of God that creates a new reality. Yet a baptized person can live in a way that contradicts the reality of incorporation into the new family and therefore gain no benefit from it. The promise is not altered by the lack of faith, but the benefits given in baptism are not gained when there is no faith. This faith needs to be nourished by continual catechesis, worship, and prayer, and it leads to obedience to God's commands.

For Pentecostals, water baptism is primarily an act of obedience to the biblical mandate (thus the term "ordinance"—that which is ordained by Christ) and a public commitment to following Jesus. Baptism then generally follows conversion, making public the new life gained through rebirth. There is usually less emphasis on entrance into the community of faith, though it does appear (e.g., Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile). Because baptism follows the prior work of God in converting a person to Himself, it does not carry the sense of a "good work" of the kind that Lutherans would criticize but it is a response to God's work and strength for the task ahead. There is also hope that, in obeying God, a person will gain rich spiritual blessings.

Lutherans encourage Pentecostals to reflect more deeply on the gift given in baptism itself, especially in the context of salvation (1 Peter 3:21, "baptism... now saves you"). Baptism is not merely symbolic but a passage from death to life through incorporation into Christ's death and resurrection (Romans 6). At the same time, Pentecostals challenge Lutherans to consider whether the emphasis on infant baptism accommodates or encourages the phenomenon of the "nominal Christian."

We will cover the topic of "baptism in the Spirit" under the category of charisms.

"Re-Baptism." Pentecostals relate baptism to obedience because their communities have often arisen in places where the standard was infant baptism. Accordingly, a considerable number of Pentecostals have been "re-baptized" as adults even though they were first baptized as infants. This practice was a reaction against a perceived "magical" understanding of baptism or the case of the "nominal Christian" who never manifests genuine faith of his or her own. While deploring "re-baptism," Lutherans can recognize Pentecostal concerns and even see these concerns addressed in their own baptismal theology (e.g., the necessity of receiving one's own baptism in faith). Pentecostals challenge Lutherans to put these theological convictions into better pastoral practice. Lutherans challenge Pentecostals to recognize the real and objective work of God in baptism. This is a place where further dialogue between Lutherans and Pentecostals would be fruitful.

The Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. Both Lutherans and Pentecostals recognize a biblical mandate from Christ himself to "Take, eat... take, drink... do this for the remembrance of me." We mutually acknowledge that it is the work of the Holy Spirit to make Christ present to us in the Supper as well to create faith in us to receive Christ there.

Lutherans believe in the real presence of Christ in Lord's Supper. His body and blood are truly, physically present in, with, and under the bread and wine. For Lutherans, it is the same Christ who comes to us in both word and sacrament, but in the sacraments Christ comes to us in a way different from his coming to us in the word. The material elements remind us of the incarnation of the Son and point to the resurrection of the body.

Because of their consistent emphasis on the real presence of God in worship, Pentecostals expect the Lord to be present in his Supper. Pentecostals have at times claimed a version of Zwingli's understanding of the Supper, often over against the dominant sacramental church culture, but practical experience and piety indicate that Pentecostals do

actually believe in some kind of real presence beyond a strictly symbolic or memorial understanding of the Supper. Pentecostal theology of the Lord's Supper continues to develop. With regard to the Lord's Supper, there is variety among congregations and denominations around the world.

Areas for Further Discussion about the Lord's Supper. In addition to the nature of the Lord's presence, we identify three areas for consideration in a future dialogue. First, there are liturgical considerations; Lutherans mandate the inclusion of the words of institution as part of the Lord's Supper, and though most Pentecostals include them as well, it it is not an absolute requirement. Second, there is the matter of eucharistic discipline and practice: the frequency of reception (which varies in both of our church communities); the tendency to develop our practices over against other Christians (such as not wanting to "look Catholic"); and hospitality at the table (Lutherans tend to have certain standards, such as baptism and belief in the real presence; Pentecostals apply varying standards with regard to reception). Third and finally, it is necessary to consider the effects of the Lord's Supper, which probably holds great promise for commonality: forgiveness of sins, binding into one body, encountering the real presence, healing of body and soul, and empowerment for service.

5. How Do We Encounter Christ in Charisms?

Spirit Baptism. Because Pentecostals link gifts of the Spirit to baptism in the Spirit, it is appropriate to introduce the topic of charisms with a discussion of Spirit baptism. The biblical foundation for what Pentecostals call "baptism in the Spirit" is John the Baptist's prophecy that though he only baptized with water, one was coming who would baptize with "fire and the Holy Spirit." This prophecy was realized at Pentecost (Acts 2) and is exemplified in the stories of Cornelius (Acts 10) and the Ephesian disciples (Acts 19). Pentecostals understand this to be an experience of empowerment and equipment for service and ministry

by the Holy Spirit. According to the Pentecostal view, baptism in the Spirit is distinct from and a separate event following conversion to Christ (logically, if not always temporally) that is not salvific. It is strongly encouraged and cultivated among Pentecostals. The majority of Pentecostals anticipate that this experience will be accompanied by some form of evidence, most frequently, speaking in tongues (Acts 2:4). At the beginning of the movement, it was usually called the "Bible evidence" but today it is more often called the "initial evidence" or even the "initial physical evidence" of baptism in the Spirit. Following Spirit baptism, a believer may expect the flowering of spiritual gifts of a variety of kinds, such as tongues, healing, words of wisdom, and prophecy.

Gifts of the Spirit. Spiritual gifts are given for the edification, exhortation, and nurture of the church (1 Corinthians 14:3), especially for its task of evangelism (Acts 1:8). They are God's gifts to those who are saved by faith in Christ. Originally Pentecostals put primary focus on the nine gifts listed in 1 Corinthians 12:8–10 (utterance of wisdom, utterance of knowledge, faith, gifts of healings, working of miracles, prophecy, ability to distinguish between spirits, various kinds of tongues, the interpretation of tongues); however, they also consulted other passages that speak of charisms, such as 1 Corinthians 12:28 (apostles, prophets, teachers, helpers, administrators), Romans 12:6–8 (service, exhortation, generosity, leadership, acts of mercy), Ephesians 4:11–15 (apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers), and 1 Peter 4:10–11 (speaking oracles of God, serving by the strength that God supplies). The charisms are understood as bringing extraordinary empowerment through the Holy Spirit that would not normally be available to a Christian. God is the giver of these gifts and uses them for His own glory, for the upbuilding of the church, outreach into the community, and for the blessing of the believer.

The emphasis on spiritual gifts did not begin with Pentecostals. Christians throughout the centuries have demonstrated such charisms,

though in the nineteenth century there were those who seemed to have anticipated the emphasis upon charisms that Pentecostals have brought to the subject. Pentecostalism became a distinctive movement by examining the experience of baptism in the Spirit, the role that charisms played in the early church (especially in Acts), and the correlation between the two. Worldwide Pentecostals share a normative expectation of Spirit baptism leading to spiritual gifts. Anticipation of and openness to spiritual gifts is a defining feature of Pentecostal spirituality; lack of or hostility to spiritual gifts is seen as an impoverishment of the Christian life. Further, Pentecostals understand the renewed manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit as a special outpouring of God to lead to global mission in preparation for the imminent arrival of the "soon-coming king." A heightened eschatological expectation has been integral to Pentecostal understandings of spiritual gifts since the beginning of the movement.

Fruit of the Spirit. Galatians 5:22–23 speaks of the fruit of the Spirit as "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control." Pentecostals distinguish this fruit, which follows conversion, from the gifts of the Spirit. The fruit of the Spirit is a part of sanctification and serves to guide the use of spiritual gifts. Christians should long for the continual growth of the fruit of the Spirit throughout their lives.

Lutheran Responses. Lutherans tend to approach the gifts of the Spirit in ways that have more to do with education than with cultivating particular experiences. Accordingly, Luther and early Lutherans devoted time and energy to the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, catechisms for the household and clergy, education for children as a social value, church music, diaconal service, and theological study, all of which have remained primary features of Lutheran culture ever since. Lutherans are more at home with the Spirit's gifts of teaching, helping, administration, service, exhortation, generosity, leadership, and acts of mercy than with the more "extraordinary" ones like prophecy, tongues,

healing, and miracles. Lutherans pray for the bestowal of gifts of the Holy Spirit in some worship settings, especially in the liturgies of baptism, confirmation, ordination, and episcopal consecration.

Lutherans tend to fixate on speaking in tongues when they look at Pentecostal spirituality, but it is important for them to see Pentecostalism in the whole context of Spirit baptism, a variety of spiritual gifts, the fruit of the Spirit, and worship practices oriented toward a vivid experience of God's presence involving the whole community. Lutherans also tend to assume that Pentecostals make salvation dependent on the manifestation of spiritual gifts. This is definitely a false perception; trinitarian Pentecostals are extremely clear that salvation is not in any way dependent on spiritual gifts. Future dialogues will need to examine on how Pentecostals and Lutherans understand the various gifts and workings of the Spirit, and why they each cultivate certain gifts of the Spirit more than others.

Historically, distinctive Pentecostal experiences and practices were embraced by a number of Lutherans in the charismatic movement as early as the 1950s. It will be important for Lutherans to keep in mind the charismatic renewal within their own church and its implications for their dialogue with Pentecostals. The Lutheran reaction to the charismatic movement has varied wildly, from a very negative view (especially in the United States) to a cautiously positive one (Germany in the 1980s) to a very positive one (Ethiopia's Mekane Yesu Church). On the negative side, three basic objections have been vocalized: 1) a conviction dating back to the time of Augustine that charismatic manifestations ended with the close of the apostolic age, 2) a fear that a church culture focusing on charisms may eclipse the centrality of Christ's atonement, and 3) a fear of disorder in the church. These three objections invite further examination.

1. Introducing Lutheranism to Pentecostals

Kenneth G. Appold

Lutherans name their church after Martin Luther. Luther himself wouldn't be happy with that and he resisted the tendency during his own lifetime. Calling oneself "Lutheran" could obscure the fact that Lutherans are above all *Christians*. It also feeds the misperception that Lutheranism began with the Reformation. It didn't. Lutheranism began with Christ and shares fifteen hundred years of pre-Reformation history with the rest of Christianity including Pentecostals. On the other hand, a good part of Lutheran identity is linked to Martin Luther and his theology. The particular path that those Christians who call themselves Lutheran have taken starts with Luther and his legacy.

Martin Luther's most important contribution to Christianity was theological, rather than social or political, and that has had an enormous impact on the development of Lutheranism. While other churches and confessional movements might point to features of church order (e.g. episcopal, presbyterian or congregationalist) or to their liturgical and spiritual traditions, Lutheranism has most often defined and distinguished itself by its *theology*. Theology in general and Luther's theology in particular are central to the Lutheran tradition.

What can be said about Luther's theology in a few pages? Luther's works comprise more than a hundred volumes in small folio size; and not only the things that Luther wrote but even the things that he said over dinner and beer were written down and later printed in these volumes. Those contents are extremely varied. Their frequently ad-hoc nature resists easy systematization. Despite this, identifying the most important features of Luther's theology is not as impossible as it may

seem at first glance. One theme stands out above the rest and has come to be identified both by Lutherans and non-Lutherans as the core of Luther's theological contribution- according to many, even the pivotal insight of the continental Reformation: the doctrine of justification by grace alone.

Reacting against the kind of informal semi-Pelagianism that dominated late medieval Christian culture, Luther, at the time an Augustinian friar and professor of biblical theology, steeped himself in study of the Bible and rediscovered one of Christianity's most central tenets: human beings are saved not by the works they do but solely by the grace of God, offered to all by virtue of Christ's vicarious satisfaction. By accepting this offer in faith, Luther argues, Christians are liberated from efforts to save themselves and are free to turn their attention to God—a God whom they may now recognize at last as a loving God rather than mainly as a God of judgment. In Luther's view, accepting God's offer of grace breaks a kind of vicious existential circle driven by desires for self-improvement on the one hand and fear of judgment on the other, locking the individual into a life-pattern well-described as "curvatus in se" (turned in upon oneself). In that sense, Luther's doctrine of justification focuses less upon sins actually committed and more upon the condition of fundamental self-centeredness that lies beneath them. God alone has the power to break through the circle and to effect a reorientation of the sinner. God does so purely out of love for humankind, utterly independent of the recipient's status, qualities, or efforts.

Luther never ceases to be astonished again and again at the wonder of this circumstance. His many writings that touch on this doctrine repeat its basic themes in a variety of conceptual and metaphoric mantles but remain true to its essential insight. One of the more interesting descriptions of how, exactly, the process of justification takes place from a human perspective—that is, what happens to the person whom God

justifies—comes in one of Luther's most celebrated treatises, "On the Freedom of a Christian," written in 1520. Here as elsewhere, Luther points out that it is not the sinner's own righteousness that causes him to be justified but Christ's righteousness, an "alien" righteousness, that is applied to the sinner and causes him to be viewed as righteousness in God's eyes. Luther describes this as a kind of "joyous exchange," an exchange of properties from Christ to the sinner and vice versa: Christ takes upon himself our sinfulness and the punishment it incurs, and we, in return, receive not only Christ's righteousness but also Christ's spiritual sovereignty over affairs of the world and, significantly, his prerogative to act as a priest:

> Thus Christ has made it possible for us, provided we believe in him, to be not only his brethren, co-heirs, and fellow-kings, but also his fellow-priests. Therefore we may boldly come into the presence of God in the spirit of faith and cry "Abba, Father!", pray for one another, and do all things which we see done and foreshadowed in the outer and visible works of priests.[1]

By believing in Christ rather than in ourselves, our closed-in-on-itself existence opens up and receives something outside itself ("extra nos"), which now enters and takes up residence in the believer like a foreign power or, to use Luther's analogy, like fire "entering" a block of iron and transferring its heat and luminosity to the otherwise cold metal. By

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[1] Martin Luther, "The Freedom of a Christian," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 31, ed. Harold J. Grimm (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1957), 355. In addition to the fifty-five volumes in English of *Luther's Works* (with new volumes forthcoming from Concordia Publishing House), briefer collections of Luther's chief writings can be found in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor, 1958) and *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, ed. Timothy F. Lull (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989).

"inhabiting" the believer, Christ passes his own powers and prerogatives to the believer, rendering the believer not only righteous but an effective instrument of God's will and action. Christian liberty, according to Luther, means being freed of oneself in order to be free for others as Christ would want us to be.

This dual trajectory of justification—being freed from ourselves in order to serve others—is central to Lutheranism. It is, one should add, frequently overlooked by critics of Luther's thought who argue that Luther emphasizes justification more strongly than sanctification, the saving work of Christ more than the sustaining and inspiring work of the Holy Spirit. Luther's emphasis may indeed be more heavily christological than pneumatological, but it would be wrong to assume that his conception of justification is entirely inward and that it sees no consequences for the justified believer's life. Such a view misses the second component of Luther's doctrine: that we are freed in order to serve others. Luther himself, along with his contemporaries, was certainly aware of this. The history of the Lutheran Reformation, with its persistent emphases on serving the neighbor, on education, and on imbuing occupations outside the church with a spirit of Christian service, bears impressive witness to the external, social, and ethical dimensions of justification. It is therefore hardly surprising that the Lutheran World Federation today is known as much for its diaconal ministry around the globe as for its theology.

There are, of course, many other aspects of Luther's theology that one could add to this account. Distinctive articulations of doctrines concerning baptism, the eucharist, the status of Scripture, and the office of ministry are also part of Luther's legacy. They feature prominently in his own writings and those of his partners and followers.

Interestingly, the most definitive articulations of those insights were not written by Luther at all, though they certainly show his influence. The Augsburg Confession, a Lutheran statement of faith submitted to

the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, was written largely by Luther's friend and Wittenberg colleague Philipp Melanchthon. This statement, more than anything Luther wrote himself, became foundational for Lutheran churches and is today the one "confessional" statement, along with the creeds of the early church, that is binding for all Lutherans. Other writings were added later, and some, like the Small and Large Catechisms, were written by Luther, but none has the prominence of the Augsburg Confession (CA, for the Latin *Confessio Augustana*). Both then and now, "Lutheranism" could be defined in one sense as a group of churches that subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. In fact, back in the sixteenth century, Lutheran churches were not officially called "Lutheran" at all but rather "churches of the Augsburg Confession." A second major confessional statement, the Formula of Concord, comparable but not equal to the CA in stature, was added in 1580, more than thirty years after Luther's death. Whenever Lutherans engage in ecumenical dialogue, they draw on these and several other normative statements found in the Book of Concord (1580) and on Scripture to articulate their positions.[2]

Understanding Lutheranism requires attention to more than its theology, as important as that may be to Lutherans' self-definition. The Lutheran church is a product of history, not just of theology. Moreover, the specific historical circumstances that surrounded Lutheranism's inception had a long-term impact on how the Lutheran church is constituted and governed, how its worship life looks, and what values ethical, theological, and cultural—it espouses. That insight is especially important to Lutheran-Pentecostal dialogue, given the considerable

[2] *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, eds. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001). All of the major Lutheran confessional documents can be found in this volume. An older and still frequently used edition in English is *The Book of Concord*, ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959).

difference in "age" between the two partners. While Lutheranism certainly remains dynamic and open to change, many of its key characteristics today are connected to decisions and events of the sixteenth century. Even its reactions to Pentecostalism often follow patterns established five hundred years ago, for example when Lutherans equate Pentecostals with Reformation-era "enthusiasts" or *Schwärmer*. While such reactions are generally premature and frequently erroneous, they do reveal to outsiders something about the inner workings of Lutheran culture—and those workings are shaped by history.

Lutherans have long lived with the legacy of beginning as "state churches," and that legacy is mixed. At the time of the Reformation, Luther and his compatriots served as catalysts for the expansion of state control over religion. While that development itself has an interesting history, tracing it here would go too far afield. More to the point, it had an indelible effect on the way the Lutheran church was institutionalized in Germany and Scandinavia. Compared with the dominant currents of Reformation-era Catholicism, Lutherans churches involved more leadership by laypeople, were governed more locally and less centrally (that is, not from Rome), and included a greater degree of involvement by their secular rulers. Compared with more "radical" Reformers such as Anabaptists or Spiritualists, on the other hand, the Lutheran Reformation developed administrative structures that still involved much more hierarchical oversight and much less congregational independence. Radicals could argue that the Lutheran churches were no less "ordered" than their pre-Reformation or Roman Catholic counterparts; they simply swapped a purely clerical hierarchy for a more secular one. Moreover, because kings and princes acted as *summus episcopus* (highest bishop) of Lutheran churches in their lands, the vast majority of that ruler's subjects were integrated into church-state structures. The results were "folk churches" whose members included almost everyone who lived in that territory and whose rules and policies were influenced

heavily by the court. Clergy, not surprisingly, came to be identified with the ruling classes and were often seen as part of the elite.

This arrangement brought many advantages to Lutheranism. The Lutheran Reformation's ambitious programs of educational reform, its social programs and diaconal outreach, and even its efforts to inculcate a deeper-seated religiosity in the general public through catechesis, publication of Bibles and devotional material, and worship reform were all aided immeasurably by state support. And while contemporary theology often looks askance at the vestiges of a "cultural Christianity," it is important to remember that "Christianizing" a culture also affords the opportunity to establish values and to shape a society broadly by providing more public opportunities for Christian witness. The fact that most contemporary Lutheran countries have extensive social welfare programs and show strong public commitments to charitable service owes in large part to the Reformation's cultural legacy and to the closeness of their church-state relations.

Such benefits came at a price, however, and Lutheran history is punctuated by voices who lamented that price and sought to counteract it. The state-church convergence tended to fashion a church ruled "from above." The more Lutheran clergy in Germany and Scandinavia belonged to the ruling classes and cultural elite, the less connected they were with the "common people" whom they served. Lay involvement was too often minimized, and even where it raised its voice—such as in the devotional circles of Lutheran Pietism—it was often suppressed by authorities. This does not mean that Pietism and later Awakening movements had no influence on Lutheranism; but it does point to the uncomfortable tension between lay religiosity and clerical institutionalization that has featured prominently in Lutheran history. Lutheran church leaders have generally preferred discipline and order to spontaneity and exuberance. Their parishioners, however, have not always shared those priorities. As a consequence, Lutheranism has long

been guided by a paradoxical coexistence of top-down hierarchical structure with strong currents of anti-clericalism and lay initiative. Sometimes the results were edifying; often they were not.

Contemporary relations between Lutherans and Pentecostals are frequently colored by that history. Pentecostals can interpret many Lutheran reactions to their presence through this historical lens. For one thing, Lutherans who have been shaped by a folk-church heritage (and this applies to many who live in areas where they do not constitute demographic majorities, such as in the Americas, Africa, or Asia but where the folk-church legacy survives in indirect forms) are suspicious of phenomena that look "sectarian." They do not easily embrace movements that appear to aim at the margins of society and threaten to tear off pieces of the prevailing social fabric. They prefer cultural cohesion. Second, Lutherans are accustomed to public accountability and order in their church lives and are consequently wary of elements that seem to disrupt or undermine that order. This applies to more than spontaneous displays of piety during worship services; it also figures in Lutheran commitments to a highly educated clergy. Lutherans value their theological education and will always have a difficult time taking seriously ministers of other churches who have not experienced that kind of formation.

On the other hand, Lutheran love of order is very often accompanied by a delight in the rumblings of disorder. Here the anticlerical side of our culture, resistant to authority, defiantly congregational—and often of rural or Norwegian origin rears its head. Thus it happens that Lutheranism has, perhaps surprisingly, provided fertile ground for charismatic movements, sometimes for the very reasons that other parts of Lutheranism reject them. No matter how much suspicion Pentecostalism may engender in some Lutheran circles, there will be others who not only welcome the movement but see a certain kinship in it as well.

Given the tensions evident in Lutheran history, it may come as a surprise to see how effective Lutherans of the post-World War II period have been in establishing a global communion. The overwhelming trend of late twentieth-century Lutheranism has been towards unity, both among Lutherans of different countries and persuasions, and between Lutherans and other church traditions. The Lutheran World Federation is an obvious product of the first, while prominent Lutheran leadership in ecumenism is evidence of the second. Those commitments may also come as a result of Lutherans' folk-church experience. Lutherans have had to learn how to integrate diversity rather than set themselves off against unwelcome "others" by retreating into niche churches. Because that process has often been painful and difficult –and remains so to this day– Lutherans have come to value its fruits very highly. These factors will no doubt change the face of Lutheranism as we move forward. Heirs to a complicated but powerfully resonant legacy, Lutherans will learn to navigate into the uncharted waters of globalization, vast demographic change, and shifts in the cultural makeup of their own church. As they do so, they will continue to join hands with fellow Christians of other churches – and Pentecostals will surely be among them. The results of that relationship, too, lie in a realm as yet unmapped, but their prospects are exciting.

2. Introducing Pentecostalism to Lutherans

Cecil M. Robeck Jr.

It is easy to imagine that, as a rule, any given Lutheran might conclude that Lutherans and Pentecostals are very different from one another. At some levels that would be a perfectly valid conclusion. After all, what many Lutherans know about Pentecostals often comes from their exposure to common stereotypes or from what they see on religious television. There are many things that Pentecostals and Lutherans share in common, however, although how they nuance them and what they choose to emphasize are sometimes different. Furthermore, it is difficult for most people to understand what Pentecostalism is. Is it a church? Is it a movement? Is it a single denomination? Is it a cluster of denominations? Is it a form of Christian spirituality?

Even among Pentecostal scholars, many of these same questions are being asked. Had this introduction been written in 1950, the answer would probably have stated that it was simply a movement of denominations with their origins in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century that emphasized conversion, holiness of life, and the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Historians, sociologists, and theologians since that time, however, have noted Pentecostalism's diversity around the world. It has taken on many different manifestations within the various contexts that it has come to occupy. Still, at its center stands its commitment to the classical articulations of the Christian faith. It is trinitarian and classically christological, it believes in justification through faith, it recognizes the central place of Scripture and the preaching of it, and it claims to experience the continuing power of the Holy Spirit. The openness of Pentecostals to the person and work of the Holy Spirit, including the gifts, charisms, and fruit of the Holy Spirit, has left a unique mark on both Pentecostal expectations and Pentecostal experience. Thus, not only does Classical Pentecostalism include a series of denominations, organizations, and independent congregations that

emerged in the early twentieth century; in a sense it occupies a unique band of spirituality within the larger field of Christian spirituality expressed around the world.

Unlike Lutherans, who treasure their ecclesial lineage as divinely preserved, at least in part through the means of apostolic succession and to some extent through creedal agreement, the earliest Pentecostals were Restorationists. Classical Pentecostals generally view their ecclesial character as the result of a divine restoration of apostolic patterns in both faith and practice. This means that Pentecostals tend not to place much value upon either history or Tradition as it came to be expressed through concepts such as apostolic succession or in creedal formulations, but rather they value the place of immediacy, experience, and the spontaneous reality of divine intervention in their lives. From the beginning, they took on names such as the "Apostolic Faith Movement," which emphasized their commitment to "earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints" (Jude 3), as well as their expectation that their lives would be marked by the power of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:8) with all its consequences as they understood them to have been lived out in the lives of the apostles. It should come as no surprise to find that the earliest published history of Pentecostalism was entitled *The Apostolic Faith Restored*.[1]

A second self-designation also reflected the Restorationist motif. Early Pentecostals sometimes called themselves the "Latter Rain" movement. A "latter rain," of course, presupposes that there was a "former rain," and early Pentecostals believed that they could find justification for this

[1] B. F. Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, 1916).

thinking in the pages of Scripture.[2] Aimee Semple McPherson is a case in point. Each year, she preached a sermon that she titled "Lost and Restored," complete with actors on a stage, dressed in various costumes ranging in color from white to black. Like many Pentecostals from the period, she found her theme in Joel 1:4 and 2:25. She had the theme reduced to a drawing, in which she divided up the age of the church into various dispensations, each of which involved the loss or recovery of some particular truth or experience in the history of salvation. What is interesting about this widely invoked scheme is that the restoration of the church did not begin with the emergence of the twentieth-century Pentecostal movement. It always began in the sixteenth century in the person of Martin Luther. Luther played a positive role in the restoration of true Christianity with his rediscovery or "revelation" of the doctrine of justification through faith. As a result, in Aimee's scheme, Luther was the person who typified "The Years of the Caterpillar Restored."[3] Other "reformers" would follow, people like John Wesley who allegedly recovered the importance of sanctification and a life of holiness, and General William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, with his emphasis upon preaching to the poor.

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[2] D. Wesley Myland, *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power* (Chicago: Evangel Publishing House, 1910), is the earliest attempt to develop a theology of the "Latter Rain."

[3] *Lost and Restored and Other Sermons by Aimee Semple McPherson* (Los Angeles: Foursquare, 1989), 19. "This is the way it all came about," she wrote in her mythical rendition of the facts. "Martin Luther one day was walking upon the steps of the cathedral on his hands and knees, over broken glass, endeavoring to do penance, thereby seeking to atone for his sins. As he was toiling painfully and laboriously up the steps in this manner, blood trickling from his hands and knees, cut by broken glass, he heard a voice from Heaven saying: 'Martin Luther, the Just shall live by Faith.'"

Aimee, the founder of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, was neither the first Pentecostal to think this way, nor was she the last. The idea had been published in the second issue of the newspaper of the Azusa Street Mission in October 1906.

> All along the ages men have been preaching a partial Gospel. A part of the Gospel remained when the world went into the dark ages. God has from time to time raised up men to bring back the truth to the church. He raised up Luther to bring back to the world the doctrine of justification by faith. He raised up another reformer in John Wesley to establish Bible holiness in the church. Then he raised up Dr. Cullis who brought back to the world the wonderful doctrine of divine healing. Now He is bringing back the Pentecostal Baptism to the church.[1]

In the first line of this particular quotation, a statement appears to the effect that throughout the ages most preachers have preached what is termed as merely a "partial gospel." As wonderful as Martin Luther's contribution to the church was, the earliest Pentecostals believed that it was only a partial response to what God ultimately intended for the full restoration of the church. The reason he was valued by Pentecostals was for his faithfulness to the gospel given the limited "light" he had in his day. In fact, as one Church of God writer put it, "all the Reformers had

[1] "The Pentecostal Baptism Restored," *The Apostolic Faith* [Los Angeles] 1:2 (October 1906), 1.1. While the names of Luther and Wesley nearly always appear, other names in this trail of restoring saints varied, depending upon the background of the "historian." They might include such people as John Wycliffe, George Fox (Quaker), Edward Irving (Presbyterian/Catholic Apostolic), and William Booth (Salvation Army).

amazing success and God worked with them mightily. Without them there could have been no Latter Rain. It came in a logical sequence."[5]

In a sense then, each succeeding century was thought to bring new light to the way that God wanted Christians to live, whether it came through the light shed by Luther on "justification," Wesley regarding "holiness," the Episcopal Dr. Cullis's contribution of "divine healing," General Booth's instruction on "evangelization" and "ministry among the poor," or Edward Irving's conviction that the "charisms were being restored." While each of these contributors to the restoration process was both welcomed and affirmed, from the perspective of early Pentecostals, they still had limited light on what Pentecostals understood as the "Full Gospel."

The "Full Gospel" included all of these things and more. Pentecostals also understood that it included an emphasis upon the "baptism in the Holy Spirit" that came with the "Bible evidence" of speaking in tongues that was intended to provide the power necessary for Christians to be the compelling witnesses that Jesus had predicted in Acts 1:8. One of the earliest chroniclers of Pentecostalism, Frank Bartleman, put it this way.

> There is a clear progression in the thought of God. Luther, Wesley, "Pentecost" (the Holy Ghost). The past clings to attachments to their present epochal light and experience. They stick fast; fail to swing out into a deeper, higher life revealed today. We must move on, by definite stages, but continued progress. We shrink from the contact and conflict with the higher order of demon powers necessarily encountered in our pressing upward. We are frightened, but we must come forth, or die in the womb of present conviction for need. And here many will die rather than suffer birth. It

[5] "The Wonderful History of the Latter Rain: Remarkable Repetition of the Acts of the Apostles," *The Faithful Standard* 1:3 (June 1922), 6.

> separates from past attachments, friends. It is a definite issue, experience. The revelation is born in us, the personal Holy Ghost.[6]

Pentecostals did not invent the term "Full Gospel." Nor was it they who invented the idea that people who were "baptized in the Spirit" were "Spirit-filled." These were terms already in use within the Wesleyan-Holiness Movement, a descendent of Methodism in the United States. They had been used to describe those who preached a crisis experience of sanctification in line with the more radical holiness teaching of the day. Thus, Restorationism was a broader hermeneutical scheme in which the earliest Pentecostals, many of whom had previously participated in the Wesleyan-Holiness Movement, chose to adapt to their latest understanding. Once again, Bartleman wrote:

> I saw that just as in Luther's time God brought to the church a fresh revelation, and just as in Wesley's time, God brought a fresh revelation so today the Lord was bringing a greater revelation than anything in the past. I saw quite early in this work, after the Lord had dealt with me, that we were making history, that this was a fresh issue and the greatest of all issues.[7]

With this Restorationist vision as the hermeneutical key that governed early Pentecostal self-understanding, it is not difficult to appreciate the frustration and anger that it kindled among those who believed that the very existence of the Pentecostal movement called into question their own positions. Lutherans, Methodists, and especially the churches of the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition were, in many ways, the most deeply

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[6] Frank Bartleman, "Penitence—Humility- -Progress," *The Way of Faith* (July 23, 1908), 3.

[7] Frank Bardeman, "God's Onward March through the Centuries," *The Latter Rain Evangel* 2:10 (July 1910), 2 3.

touched by Pentecostal claims. In the United States, it was the independent congregations and Holiness denominations that were most deeply wounded. Their language had been compromised. Their own claims to have the "Full Gospel" had been undermined. As a result, they either converted to or became vocal opponents of this new movement.

Still, in keeping with previous Wesleyan-Holiness teaching, William J. Seymour, pastor of the famous Azusa Street Mission, published what amounted to a "Statement of Faith" that was distributed at the Azusa Street Mission. Section 1 discussed the theme of restoration. Section 2 made clear that the Mission taught both "justification by faith" and "sanctification" as works of the Holy Spirit. "Baptism of the Holy Ghost" was described simply as a "gift of power upon the sanctified life." Section 3 set forth the Mission's beliefs concerning divine healing and almost incidentally critiqued the standard Wesleyan-Holiness teaching that equated sanctification with baptism in the Holy Spirit. Section 4 listed a series of themes that the Mission's membership thought were important in any systematic treatment of Pentecostal theology. The final statement set forth the Mission's philosophy that it was trying to displace "dead forms and creeds" on the one hand and "wild fanaticism" on the other, with what it called "living, practical Christianity."[a]

The nature of this "living, practical Christianity" was not spelled out. While the statement committed the Mission to support "Christian unity everywhere," the "deadness" of certain forms and creedal assertions that it judged to have been part of their lives in historic churches before they had encountered the Lord in this new way did not impress them. They

[a] It is clear in this particular printing that the document reads "dead forms and creeds *of* wild fanaticisms." Other versions of this statement read "dead forms and creeds *and* wild fanaticisms." Clearly, the preposition makes little sense. I have assumed the conjunction as the intended reading and count the preposition as a misprint.

frequently criticized those who confessed things they didn't actually believe or confessed them without meditating upon what it was they were saying. They also claimed that they wanted to avoid the other extreme of "wild fanaticism," what many people called the "wild fire" that seemed to accompany many in parts of the Wesleyan-Holiness Movement.

As a result of staking out this position, during their formative years Pentecostals had few boundaries in either faith or practice that escaped scrutiny. And what passed for "apostolic faith" or "apostolic practice" was not always the subject of total agreement between them. Many of them were independent minds or spiritual entrepreneurs, given to both pragmatism and experimentation. At the same time, they always understood themselves to be subject to the limitations that they believed that Scripture taught, and on a good day many of them would have admitted their debt to the historic churches from which they came.

It needs to be remembered that there were no textbooks to tell them how a "Pentecostal Church" should be organized, what should become part of its liturgy, the details of its praxis, or even the extent of its confession. They had the Bible and they had their common life together. Secular papers ridiculed them from the beginning. Many were scurrilous, playing with headlines that parallel those found in modern tabloids. The result, of course, was that these articles, and there were hundreds of them, functioned as a form of free advertisement, if only these believers could live with the criticisms that came in such forms.[9]

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[9] See, for instance, "Weird Babel of Tongues," *Los Angeles Daily Times* (April 18, 1906), 2.1; "Rolling and Diving Fanatics 'Confess,'" *Los Angeles Daily Times* (June 23, 1906), 1.7; Frank Gale, "Summer Solstice Sees Strenuous Sects Sashaying," *The Evening News* [Los Angeles] (July 23, 1906), 1; "In Grip of the Holy Rollers," *Los Angeles Daily Times* (August 14, 1907), 2.2.

In spite of these attacks, the leaders of the Azusa Street Mission and many others like it around the country stood their ground. They could best be described as simple, Bible-believing people who had not been persuaded by many of the arguments made by those committed to either the scientific method or other manifestations of modernity. Within theological circles they rejected the optimism of liberalism, the rationalism of fundamentalism, and anything that smacked of denominationalism, "tradition," formalism, or higher criticism. On the basis of Joel's prophecy (Joel 2:28–29), most of them accepted ministry by women. They broke down traditional age, class, color, and gender boundaries.[10] And they experimented with a variety of practices. An initial glance, might lead one to think that pragmatism ruled, but that would be to give pragmatism more credit than it is due. To be sure, they were pragmatic, but they soon realized that their pragmatism had limits. A couple of brief examples will suffice.

There were those in the southern part of the U.S. who sounded very much like the "heavenly prophets" that Martin Luther confronted. They thought that as long as the Holy Spirit was in the process of revealing something new, they had no need for the old, namely the Bible. Virtually all early Pentecostals were horrified at such a claim, and it didn't take long for them to prevail! "There is a band of saints that do not read the Bible like saints," wrote Lucy Farrow when she was in Portsmouth, Virginia, in the fall of 1906. "They say the Bible is for unbelievers so they do not read it at all. O for some one to help. Won't you come and help if you can, and as soon as you can?"[11] As they sought for balance in the use of Scripture, the editor of *The Apostolic Faith* observed, "If there is too much reading the word without prayer, you get too argumentative,

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[10] See, for example, Cecil M. Robeck Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival* (Nashville: Nelson Reference and Electronic, 2006), especially, 87–186.

[11] Lucy Farrow, "The Work in Virginia," *The Apostolic Faith* [Los Angeles] 1:2 (October 1906), 3.2.

and if you pray too much without reading you get fanatical. One or two verses revive your heart. It is blessed to have God's word. I could not live without the word."[12]

Argue they did, but always they came back to the Bible. One of the questions that some of them raised had to do with speaking in tongues. The Bible clearly mentioned "speaking in tongues" or the "gift of tongues." And "tongues" or languages are what contribute to many forms of communication. Not only can we speak, as a normal human process, we can also learn to read and write in a human language. Thus, the question soon arose among them: can those who speak in tongues also learn to write in tongues, perhaps even read a message that God might have for them in tongues? For a short while, they experimented with these ideas. Even the secular press picked up on it and published examples for all to see.[13] Pastor Seymour studied the issue for a short time, and then published his decision in *The Apostolic Faith*.

> We do not read anything in the Word about writing in unknown languages, so we do not encourage that in our meetings. Let us measure everything by the Word, that all fanaticism may be kept out of the work. We have found it questionable whether any real good has come out of such writing.[14]

This phenomenon disappeared almost immediately at the Azusa Street Mission, though it had been around since at least 1901 and it would continue to appear in other places for the next year or so. In the end, however, the Pentecostal movement set it aside, convinced that there was nothing to it.

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[12] Untitled Item, *The Apostolic Faith* [Los Angeles] 1:12 (October 1908), 3.3.
[13] "Handmade Chicken Tracks on Paper," *Los Angeles Daily Times* (September 19, 1906), 2.1.
[14] Untitled Item, *The Apostolic Faith* [Los Angeles] 1:10 (September 1907), 2.4.

In summary, it should be noted that there are some basic facts about Pentecostals that often get overlooked. First, they have a love-hate relationship with history and Tradition. They reject and embrace both of them at the same time. Second, they take Scripture seriously. Third, they can be quite pragmatic, and they are a movement in which entrepreneurs are frequently celebrated. But, fourth, they do have clear boundaries. They view Scripture as setting those boundaries or measuring the boundaries that they have set for themselves. Yes, they pray for the sick, cast out devils, speak in tongues, and receive interpretations to many of their utterances. They prophesy and offer words of wisdom and of knowledge. They believe that God speaks to them through these means, just as the Apostle Paul believed when he wrote to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians 12–14). But in the end, they will embrace Scripture before they embrace these words, for they are tied to the expectation that it provides an ongoing, objective means to measure everything that is believed, said, or done among them.

Pentecostals were ridiculed and rebuffed by the secular press, but they were equally rebuffed by many within the Christian community. The visible role that women and the young played, the intimacy and ease with which blacks, whites, Latinos, and Asians mixed, the unwillingness to be bound by "traditional" forms of worship and liturgy, their openness to spontaneous interventions that they believed originated in the Holy Spirit, and their rejection of interpretations of Scripture that depended largely on rationality were sufficient to get them into all kinds of trouble with established Christian leaders.[15]

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[15] Charles F. Parham, "Fanaticism," *The Apostolic Faith* [Baxter Springs, Kansas] (December 1910), 3; "It Is a Counterfeit Pentecost," *The Burning Bush* (December 27, 1906), 4–7; "Deceiver Parham," *The Church Advocate and Holiness Banner* 28:43 (October 27, 1906), 4; "Delusions of the Last Days," *The Free Methodist* [Chicago] (May 21, 1907), 8 (328); "Third Work of Grace a

They criticized those who seemed to hedge their bets regarding healing, with such abstract concepts as divine sovereignty or providence. They had no time for those who gave no space for laity to minister to one another. In a sense, they put into practice what Luther certainly believed, the priesthood of *all* believers. And in keeping with their reading of Joel 2:28–29 and Acts 2:16–21, they believed in what one theologian has called the *prophethood* of all believers as well.[16]

When it came to racial issues, one Los Angeles Baptist pastor charged that the Pentecostals at Azusa Street were nothing more than "a disgusting amalgamation of African voudou superstition and Caucasian insanity."[17] The President of the Los Angeles Church Federation, which consisted of many of the historic Protestant leaders, represented the views of that group after visiting the Azusa Street Mission, when he declared it to be "enthusiastic fanaticism."[18] He went on to convey his "concern" that some of these "enthusiasts" might even "lose their reason through over zeal and become dangerous."[19] In the end, the Federation made every effort to put the Mission out of business. Pentecostals viewed all such forms of persecution, whether from secular or from religious sources, as signs that what they were doing was God's work. In their

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Confusion of the Devil," *The Gospel Trumpet* (December 3, 1908), (3–4) 755–56.

[16] Roger Stronstad, *The Prophethood of All Believers: A Study in Luke's Charismatic Theology*, JPTS Supplemental Series 16 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999).

[17] "New Religions Come, Then Go," *Los Angeles Herald* (September 24, 1906), 7; Cf. "Denounces New Denominations," *Los Angeles Express* (September 24, 1906), 5.

[18] "Churches Aroused to Action," *Los Angeles Express* (July 18, 1906), 12.

[19] "Young Girl Given Gift of Tongues," *Los Angeles Express* (July 20, 1906), 1.

earliest days, some of them seemed even to go so far as to try to see just how much the laws of the land would tolerate.[20]

In a sense, the Pentecostal movement that emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, in spite of its diversity, was a single movement for the first decade of its existence. There were leaders in many different places around the world who did not always think in exactly the same ways. One was William H. Durham, a Chicago pastor who did not share the "Holiness" background that most early Pentecostals claimed. He had been a Baptist, and his view of sanctification differed from that embraced by the Holiness movement. He believed that upon becoming Christians people were sanctified "in Christ." They could grow in sanctification, and he urged them to do so, recognizing that the work of Christ, including our sanctification, was "finished."

In 1911, Durham moved to Los Angeles where he attempted to capture the core of the Pentecostal movement. Pastor Seymour was absent from the Azusa Street Mission, and Durham was invited to fill his place until Seymour returned. Durham took advantage of the situation and began convincing Seymour's followers that his position on sanctification was more "biblical" than the position traditionally held by "Holiness" Pentecostal people. After a number of weeks, the elders of the Mission summoned Seymour home. Seymour listened patiently to Durham's preaching and then came out in opposition to this new position. Sparks flew. Durham attempted to unseat Seymour and found himself locked out of the Mission. He moved about six blocks, where he established another mission, and many of Seymour's people moved with him.

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[20] "Head of Sect Is Disturber," *Pasadena Daily News* (July 13, 1906), 12; "Plucked by the Way: The Parable of the Holy Roller," *Whittier Daily News* 2:211 (October 9, 1906), 2.

Durham was furious with Seymour, and he made a national issue out of his position on sanctification, forcing people to take sides. Those who championed "Holiness" according to the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition viewed this change as catastrophic, as a compromise that challenged any commitment to holiness of life.[21] Rumors flew regarding this change, and there were those who, having heard Durham's position, challenged the notion of "holiness" altogether, but Durham was no champion of antinomianism.[22]

The consequence of Durham's actions, the prominence of his story and his commitment to publish his exploits and to condemn his detractors so publicly, quickly made this "battle royal" a national battle.[23] "How anyone could have been blinded by the theory that sanctification is a definite, second, instantaneous work of grace is now a great mystery to me," wrote Durham.

> Of all theories to which men are in bondage, it seems to me this is the weakest as well as the most un-Scriptural, and yet men are contending for it as if the salvation of the world largely depended upon it. In order to do this they have to

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[21] While the following citations date from a much later period, the positions they take had been staked out by contemporaries of William H. Durham. Cf. *A Historical Account of the Apostolic Faith: A Trinitarian-Fundamental Evangelistic Organization: Its Origin, Functions, Doctrinal Heritage, and Departmental Activities of Evangelism*, compiled and edited by Veteran Members of the Headquarters Staff (Portland, Oregon: The Apostolic Faith Mission, 1965), 69–70; Paul F. Beacham, *Questions and Answers on the Scriptures and Related Subjects* (Franklin Springs, Georgia: The Publishing House of the P. H. Church [now Advocate Press], 1950, reprinted 1974), 236–38.

[22] Frank Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, 74; Frank Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles: As It Was in the Beginning* (Los Angeles: F. Bartleman, c. 1925), 147.

[23] Frank Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, 74.

> close their eyes to the light in exactly the same way those who reject the truth concerning the baptism and the speaking in tongues have done, and are still doing.[24]

Some thought Durham was an evil man, gone soft on sanctification. Others, such as Frank Bartleman, simply viewed Durham's teaching as the latest revelation that God had brought before the movement. "Some men are especially fitted, called to teach a definite, instantaneous epochal work to be realized in the human heart," he argued. "They themselves receive largely that way. Others are more fitted to press the further development, progress to the next station. Thus we balance up and the trip is made. The latter is my own specialty. More continuous than abrupt, but no less definite."[25] In the end, the division over sanctification produced a rift within Pentecostalism that has never fully healed, though "Holiness" and "Finished Work" Pentecostals frequently worship and work together. Still, Pentecostals have sometimes exhibited unholy behavior toward one another in their arguments over this issue of "holiness." In most cases, they have learned to agree to disagree on the subject.

A second issue that divided Pentecostals is a much more difficult one. It originated in the attempt to be as biblical and "apostolic" as possible. The group of Pentecostals that made the most of *returning* to the "apostolic faith" by reshaping their lives and reforming their practice to bring them into line with their literal reading of Scripture were those who came to be known as "Apostolics," "Oneness," or "Jesus' Name" Pentecostals. Most Pentecostals remain staunchly trinitarian, but the claim that these people were being truly "Apostolic" led most trinitarian Pentecostals to relinquish their grasp on the term "Apostolic" as a self-

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[24] William H. Durham, "The Finished Work of Calvary," *Pentecostal Testimony* 2:1 (circa December 1911), 1.

[25] Frank Bartleman, "Penitence—Humility—Progress," 3.

description because of confusion within the public mind over whether or not Pentecostals were trinitarian. Today the term appears almost exclusively in the names of Oneness churches within the Pentecostal tradition.[26]

In the fall of 1906, a Baptist minister from Detroit, Michigan, the Rev. Joshua W. Sykes, became the pastor of a small independent Baptist congregation in East Los Angeles. From all accounts, this congregation was heavily influenced by the local Pentecostal revival that had swept the Azusa Street Mission and for a time the First New Testament Church in Los Angeles as well. People at this Baptist church began to speak in tongues and to claim even to benefit from the visitation of angels. In an attempt to identify with what was happening around them, the Baptist-turned-Pentecostal congregation changed its name to The Apostolic Church. On the whole, it patterned its statement of faith after that of the First New Testament Church, which also had sympathies for the Azusa Street Mission, but there was one significant exception.[27] While Pastor

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[26] Significant exceptions to this would be the Apostolic Faith Mission Churches of South Africa, the Apostolic Church in Great Britain, and several Apostolic Faith Mission groups in the United States. Oneness churches that include the term "Apostolic" in their denominational names include but are not limited to the Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God, the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ, and the Apostolic Church of Pentecost of Canada. The latter group is the most tolerant of trinitarian theology and embraces both Oneness and Trinitarian believers.

[27] The First New Testament Church was formed in the Spring of 1905 by the Rev. Joseph Smale, former pastor of Los Angeles's First Baptist Church. Smale, who had visited Wales to review the Welsh Revival firsthand, had returned to First Baptist Church and conducted several months of protracted meetings in early 1905. He hoped to spark a similar revival in Los Angeles. His board, however, responded negatively, and Smale left the church. Those parishioners who wanted him to continue prevailed upon him to start a new

Sykes had led a five-month line of teaching that clearly paralleled the one found among other Pentecostals throughout Los Angeles, he rejected the practice of invoking the trinitarian formula when he baptized new converts. Instead, he baptized his followers in "the name of Christ."[28]

Sykes may have remained alone in his appeal to baptism in Jesus' name had it not been for other events that occurred at the famous Apostolic Faith camp meeting of 1913.[29] In that meeting a Canadian, the Rev. Robert E. McAlister, mentioned in a sermon that when he reviewed apostolic practice in the Acts of the Apostles, in no case could he find the trinitarian formula. The apostles and their associates, it seems, had all baptized in the name of Jesus Christ.[30]

When McAlister mentioned this fact and a suggestion was made that to be truly "apostolic" might also mean to be baptized in the apostolic way, that is, in Jesus' Name, many expressed concern. Some thought that such an act might confuse them in the public mind with the likes of Joshua Sykes, of whom they disapproved.[31] But the seed had been sown,

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congregation that chose the name First New Testament Church. From April through September 1906, First New Testament and Joseph Smale were supportive of what was happening at the Azusa Street Mission. A major rift occurred in September 1906, however, and by December, Smale was openly opposing the Apostolic Faith Mission.

[28] "Apostolic Church Stirred by Vision," *Los Angeles Express* (March 4, 1907), 4; "Ghosts Yank Him Out of Bed," *Los Angeles Herald* (March 5, 1907), 6.

[29] For a helpful overview of this camp meeting see Wayne E. Warner, "The 1913 Worldwide Camp Meeting," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 3:1 (Spring, 1983), 1, 4-5.

[30] A review of passages such as Acts 2:38, 8:16, 10:48, 19:5, and so on readily confirm McAlister's point.

[31] Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, 106, notes that McAlister was chided by a missionary named Denny, who "told him not to preach that doctrine, lest he

and before the camp meeting was over, scores of people had been baptized or re-baptized in Jesus' name to bring them into conformity with what they had come to believe was the apostolic pattern of Christian baptism as found in Acts 2:38.

This meeting was important for a second, related event. John G. Schaepe, a lay preacher, reflected further on the meaning of the move away from the trinitarian formula and claimed to receive a divine revelation that served not only to underscore the significance of adopting the apostolic practice of baptizing in the name of Jesus Christ but also to call into question the basic commitment to the classical trinitarian theology of these Apostolic Faith believers.[32]

What ensued following the 1913 camp meeting, then, was an intense debate among Pentecostals throughout the U.S. over the limits of authentic apostolicity. Arguments were set forth on both sides. Some held firmly to the classical trinitarian position as expressed at Nicaea and Chalcedon as well as the invocation of the trinitarian formula at baptism. Others who were trying to conform to what they read in Acts argued against the use of the trinitarian formula and contended that the development of trinitarian doctrine was actually a development of later, politically motivated, non-apostolic *tradition*. Indeed, the substitution of the later tradition-laden trinitarian formula at the time of baptism was

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be associated with a Dr. Sykes, who was currently baptizing his converts in that same manner." Ewart seems here to confuse Joshua W. Sykes, an Apostolic faith minister, with Dr. Melvin Sykes, a noted physician in the African American community. Dr. Melvin Sykes was an active and highly visible member of the First African Methodist Episcopal Church in Los Angeles at the time.

[32] Cecil M. Robeck Jr., "John G. Schaepe," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Regency Reference Library / Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), 268–69.

viewed as a compromise that sapped strength from the life of the early church that had previously baptized in the name of the one God, which was Jesus Christ. Attempts at reconciliation sought to leave room for the use of alternative baptismal formulas, and new ones were proposed that carried elements of both. In the end, however, reconciliation proved to be impossible.[33]

Frank Bartleman saw it as just one more place where the process of restoration was at work, one more place where people drew lines in the sand and rejected the latest revelation. "First the Holy Ghost, then the full merits of Jesus' blood, then the full revelation of Jesus, has been the order of restoration," he argued.

> All things are being summed up in Jesus. With Luther's and Wesley's revelation we have nothing to do today, except incidentally. Each message has been mixed with error and has been incomplete in itself, as is always the case. Much unnecessary opposition has been aroused always, because of abuse in ignorance. Some opposition has been honest. The order of restoration has been "Pentecost," "finished work,"

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[33] Early attempts to synthesize the concerns of Pentecostals who advocated appeal to the trinitarian formula in baptism and those Pentecostals who advocated baptism in the name of Jesus Christ saw the development of alternative formulas such as: "In the name of the Father, and of Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit." Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, October 1–10, 1915, p. 6. J. Narver Gortner, "The Apostolic Formula," in *Water Baptism and the Trinity*, eds. J. Narver Gortner, Donald Gee, and Hy Pickering (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, n.d.), 53, offer another complex alternative. For an overview of issues related to the subject of baptism among Pentecostals see Cecil M. Robeck Jr., and Jerry L. Sandidge, "The Ecclesiology of *Koinonia* and Baptism: A Pentecostal Perspective," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 17:3 (Summer 1990), 504–34.

and the further revelation of today. We are getting back to the simple, powerful Apostolic order and gospel.[34]

If lines had been drawn between "Holiness" and "Finished Work" Pentecostals, they were even more firmly drawn between "Trinitarian" and "Oneness" groups. Today these two groups have little to do with one another. Yet these three strands, Holiness and Finished Work Trinitarians and Oneness Pentecostals, are all clearly woven together in the tapestry that is called "Classical Pentecostalism," and they describe only the broadest outlines of the *diversity* of churches that can be labeled "Pentecostal." Each of them shares common roots. Each of them values a common encounter with the risen Lord Jesus Christ. And each one of them attempts to live out what it means to be "Apostolic" or "Pentecostal" within the boundaries of their current self-understanding.

The fact that all three sectors of Classical Pentecostalism, "Holiness," "Finished Work," and "Oneness," view themselves as witnesses to the imminent return of Jesus Christ has led them to be highly evangelistic and missionary-driven. As a result, Pentecostalism can be found in virtually every country of the world. Pentecostalism was present in Russia by 1908, where it may still be found from St. Petersburg to Siberia. It is the largest Protestant presence in Italy, where many of its members belong to the Communist Party, in large part to differentiate themselves from Roman Catholics. Its presence is widely felt throughout Scandinavia where it is the largest non-established Christian family.

Pentecostalism is the most significant competitor to Roman Catholic hegemony in Latin America where it has a significant presence. In Latin America, a number of autochthonous Pentecostal denominations have also emerged. They were founded by Latin Americans and are not linked to any North American missionary efforts. They appeared first in

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[34] Frank Bartleman, "Some Blessed Items of Truth," *The Blessed Truth* 3:11 (August 15, 1918), 1.

Chile (1910), but they can also be found in Argentina and Brazil. It is these churches that have been most open to cooperation with the World Council of Churches. La Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal in Chile was among four such groups that joined the WCC in 1961.

Pentecostalism has provided the basis for enormous Christian growth throughout the African continent, having given rise not only to many missionary-related denominations but also to many African Independent Churches that operate under the rubric of "Zion" or "Apostolic." In Asia, Pentecostalism is strong in countries like the Philippines, South Korea where it is most visible in Yoido Full Gospel Church, the largest congregation in the world, in India and especially among many of the unregistered churches of China.

Some Pentecostal churches, most notably among those influenced by independent evangelists such as Kenneth Hagan and Kenneth Copeland, and especially throughout the developing world, have embraced what is popularly called "prosperity theology."[35] The traditional Christian affirmations that God is able to meet both spiritual and physical needs has been extended to the expectation that God wills both spiritual and physical (including material) well-being for God's people. Churches such as the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus and Iglesia Pentecostal Deus Es Amor that emerged in the 1980s are controversial even among Classical Pentecostal churches for the extent to which they emphasize such teaching.

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[35] Charles Farah, Jr., "A Critical Analysis: The 'Roots and Fruits' of Faith-Formula Theology," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 3:1 (Spring 1981), 3-21; J. N. Horn, *From Rags to Riches: An Analysis of the Faith Movement and Its Relation to the Classical Pentecostal Movement* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1989); Simon Coleman, *The Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity: Spreading the Gospel of Prosperity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2000).

In 1947, Pentecostals representing many Trinitarian Pentecostal groups gathered in Zürich, Switzerland, for a Pentecostal World Conference. Many Classical Pentecostal leaders hoped to establish an organization for Pentecostals similar to the WCC that was formed in 1948. They were unable to do so because of the insistence of the congregationally-centered Pentecostals of Scandinavia and Brazil to keep all business at the local level. Since that time, Pentecostal leaders have gathered in Pentecostal World Conferences where a small, self-perpetuating executive committee has discussed items of mutual interest and concern. These triennial conferences have largely provided mutual encouragement and a showcase for big name pastors and evangelists. In 2004, it formally took the name Pentecostal World Fellowship. Their next triennial meeting will be held in Stockholm, August 24–26, 2010.

On the whole, Pentecostalism has been able to meet the needs of many on the margins of society and the church. It has been effective in bringing people into what it describes as a personal relationship with God through Jesus Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit. It encourages its members to share their personal testimonies with others, to live their personal lives with an eye to "holiness," to embrace good works as part of the "Spirit-filled" life, to be open to the sovereign movement of the Holy Spirit through charisms, signs, and wonders, and to support the ongoing work of the church through regular tithing. In recent years, some Classical Pentecostal groups such as the Open Bible Churches have downplayed the role of speaking in tongues in denoting baptism in the Spirit, though they continue to value them as a legitimate charism of the Spirit according to I Corinthians 12–14, a position that is common in Europe and some Latin American Pentecostal churches.

For the most part, Pentecostal churches have chosen not to participate in any global ecumenical organization though in recent years

they have participated in the Global Christian Forum.[36] Their reticence toward institutional forms of ecumenism comes, in part, because of their Restorationist perspective on the history of the church that has often judged earlier denominations to have fallen away from God's intentions through compromise and sin. It has also come, in part, because of the way so many existing churches marginalized and sometimes excommunicated them when they attempted to share their testimonies of what God had done in their lives. As a result, until recently sectarian thinking has dominated much of the movement, which in some cases developed an eschatologically motivated fear of ecumenical contact.

It was the emergence of such groups as the National Association of Evangelicals in the United States of America and the World Evangelical Fellowship (now Alliance) in the 1940s and the testimony of those Pentecostal groups that joined the World Council of Churches in the 1960s that brought about some change in this regard. Largely due to the pioneering work of Pentecostal David du Plessis, Pentecostals have become much more open to limited forms of ecumenical contact. Since 1972 Pentecostals have been in dialogue with the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity of the Roman Catholic Church. This dialogue has produced some very helpful reports.[37] Since 1993,

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[36] See *Global Christian Forum: Transforming Ecumenism*, ed. Richard Howell (New Delhi: Evangelical Fellowship of India, 2007) and *Revisioning Christian Unity: The Global Christian Forum*, ed. Huibert van Beek, Studies in Global Christianity (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2009).

[37] The first three reports were published in *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 12:2 (Fall 1990), 85–142, and in *Deepening Communion: International Ecumenical Documents with Roman Catholic Participation*, eds. William G. Rusch and Jeffrey Gros (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1998), 367–422. The first four reports appear in *Growth in Agreement II: Reports and Agreed Statements of Ecumenical Conversations on a World Level, 1982–1998*, eds. Jeffrey Gros FSC, Harding Meyer, and William G.

Rusch (Geneva and Grand Rapids: World Council of Churches and Eerdmans, 2000), 713–79. "Perspectives on Koinonia," The Report of the Third Quinquennium of the Dialogue between the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity of the Roman Catholic Church and Some Classical Pentecostal Churches and Leaders, 1989. This document was published in the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity's *Information Service* No. 75 (1990/IV): 179–91 in *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 12:2 (1990): 117–42, as "Zicht Op 'Koinonia': Internationale Dialoog Pinksterkerken/Rooms-Katholieke Kerk– Derde Fase (1985–1989)," *Kerkelijke Documentatie 121* 19:9 (November 1991): 29–46, and in "Perspectieven op Koinonia," *Parakleet* 11:39 (Fall 1991): i–xii.; "Evangelization, Proselytism and Common Witness," The Report from the Fourth Phase of the International Dialogue 1990–1997 between the Roman Catholic Church and Some Classical Pentecostal Churches and Leaders, was published in *Information Service* No. 97 (1998/I–II): 38–56; in French in *Service d'Information* No. 97 (1998/I–II): 38–57; *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 2:1 (January 1999): 105–51; in *One In Christ* XXXV:2 (1999): 158–90; in *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 21:1 (Spring 1999): 11–51; in Portuguese in *Diálogo Católico-Pentecostal: Evangelização, Proselitismo e Testemunho Comum* (São Paulo: Paulinas, 1999), 77 pp.; in Spanish as "Evangelización, Proselitismo y Testimonio Común", *Diálogo Ecuménico* No. 108 (1999): 103–52; and in German with all previous reports in *Pfingstler und Katholiken Im Dialog: Die Vier Abschlussberichte einer Internationalen Kommission aus 25 Jahren*, eds. Norbert Baumer and Gerhard Bially (Düsseldorf: Charisma, 1999), 59–95. "On Becoming A Christian: Insights from Scripture and the Patristic Writings with Some Contemporary Reflections," The Report from the Fifth Phase of the International Dialogue between Some Classical Pentecostal Churches and Leaders and the Catholic Church (1998–2006) was published in *Information Service* No. 129 (2008/III): 162–215; and in French in *Service d'Information* No. 129 (2008/III): 163–219. The English version is available online at http://www.prounione.urbe.it/dia-int/pe-rc/doc/e_pe-rc_5-contents.html and http://www.pcpcu.org/cyberj/cyberj18/2007RC_Pent_Dialogue.pdf.

Pentecostals have been represented at the annual meeting of the Secretaries of Christian World Communions. An international dialogue was established between Pentecostals and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1995.[38] Another was established between Pentecostals and the World Council of Churches through the Joint Consultative Group authorized at the Harare Assembly in 1998.[39] In 2005, at the encouragement of Lutheran World Federation leadership and with the aid of the Ecumenical Institute in Strasbourg, France, a

[38] "Word and Spirit, Church and World: The Final Report of the International Dialogue between Representatives of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Some Classical Pentecostal Churches and Leaders 1996–2000," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 23:1 (Spring 2001): 9–43 and *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 2:1 (January 1999): 105–51; and as "Word and Spirit, Church and World: Final Report of the International Pentecostal-Reformed Dialogue," *Reformed World* 50:3 (September 2000), 128–56.

[39] The action to approve the formation of the Joint Working [now Consultative] Group between Pentecostals and the World Council of Churches at the Harare Assembly may be found in *Together on the Way: Official Report of the Eighth Assembly of the World Council of Churches*, ed. Diane Kessler (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1999), 153, 167–68. The response to this action by Evangelicals at the assembly may be found on p. 266. A short report on the Joint Consultative Group's work between the assemblies in Harare, Zimbabwe (1998), and Porto Alegre, Brazil (2006), may be found in *From Harare to Porto Alegre: 1998–2006: An Illustrated Account of the Life of the World Council of Churches*, compiled by Sara Speicher (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2005), 24–25. The report to the Porto Alegre assembly may be found at www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/assembly/porto-alegre-2006/3-preparatory-and-background-documents/joint-consultative-group-wcc-pentecostals-jcgp-2000-2005.html.

meaningful conversation between Pentecostals and Lutherans was established.[40]

In addition, Pentecostals now participate in forty-three national councils of churches[41] and in various parts of the World Council of Churches (for example, the Commission on Faith and Order and the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism) for a number of years. The Society for Pentecostal Studies also regularly hosts ecumenical discussions and publishes ecumenical materials on behalf of its membership, including several hundred Pentecostal and Charismatic scholars.[42]

Churches that participate in the charismatic renewal have often formed positive relationships with the older classical Pentecostal churches even though they have maintained membership in their historic denominations. Similarly, churches of the so-called "Third Wave" (largely charismatic Evangelical groups such as the Vineyard) and many "New Apostolic" (generally independent groups that recognize modern-day "Apostles" and "Prophets") are related to

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[40] Kenneth G. Appold, "Institute Begins Lutheran-Pentecostal Study Group," *Building Bridges: Newsletter of the Institute for Ecumenical Research* 6 (Summer 2005), 2–3; Kenneth G. Appold, "Second Lutheran-Pentecostal Conversation Held at Strasbourg Institute," *Building Bridges: Newsletter of the Institute for Ecumenical Research* 7 (Winter 2005), 4. Subsequent meetings have made press releases. The Ecumenical Institute also offered a summer seminar on Pentecostalism in 2006; see Kenneth G. Appold, "40th Strasbourg Summer Seminar Focuses on Pentecostalism," *Building Bridges: Newsletter of the Institute for Ecumenical Research* 8 (Summer 2006), 2.

[41] This figure is largely derived from *A Handbook of Churches and Councils: Profiles of Ecumenical Relationships*, compiled by Huibert van Beek (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2006).

[42] The website for the Society is www.sps-usa.org. It official publication is *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*.

Classical Pentecostalism, though their links are often downplayed. They all share many points of theology and experience, including the expectation that various charisms often thought to have disappeared from history are present in their midst. The number of Classical Pentecostals is a matter of some debate, though together with related Charismatics, "Third Wave," and "New Apostolic" Christians, the total may include more than half a billion people worldwide.[43]

[43] David Barratt claimed that by mid-year 2008 there would be 601,652,000 or nearly 27% of all Christians who fit the category of Pentecostal/Charismatic/Neo-Pentecostals. See David B. Barrett, Todd M. Johnson, and Peter F. Crossing, "Missiometrics 2008: Reality Checks for Christian World Communions," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 32:1 (January 2008): 30. This figure, however, is debated by a number of scholars as being far too high. See Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004), 9–15.

3. Lutheran Reactions to Pentecostalism: A U.S. Case Study

Kenneth G. Appold

Formal relations between Lutherans and Pentecostals have been rare throughout the world. Most encounters between the two have taken place at arm's length. Often, the distance is fueled by considerable disparities in size: European Lutherans, particularly those situated in the folk church contexts of Germany and Scandinavia, vastly outnumber Pentecostals in their countries, enjoy a much greater degree of entrenchment in (and support from) established social and political structures, and feel little pressure to accommodate their much smaller neighbors.[1] Throughout much of the Global South, the numerical situation is reversed. While neither Lutherans nor Pentecostals are "established," Pentecostals have, with a few exceptions,[2] grown much more rapidly than Lutherans in Latin America, Africa, and parts of Asia. Pentecostals in those countries see little urgency in taking Lutherans seriously as ecumenical partners. In the United States, relations between Pentecostals and Lutherans are more balanced numerically, and the lack of an established, state-sponsored religion in the U.S. makes for a more

[1] Happily, this has not precluded dialogue entirely: the Church of Finland, for example, is currently engaged in a long-term Lutheran-Pentecostal dialogue that is among the most fruitful of its kind. See "The Official Discussions between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Pentecostal Movement of Finland 1987–1989," in *Dialogues with The Evangelical Free Church of Finland and the Finnish Pentecostal Movement*, Documents of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland 2 (Helsinki: Church Council for Foreign Affairs, Ecclesiastical Board, 1990).

[2] One of the most interesting exceptions takes place in Ethiopia, where the Lutheran Mekane Yesu Church is in fact growing rapidly, and at least in part because of its charismatic nature. For more on LWF member churches, visit www.lutheranworld.org.

level playing field institutionally.[3] Here, too, however, formal dialogue between the two has been rare; if at all, it takes place at a local level that has had little impact on relations between national organizations.

That fact requires an explanation. It is an especially interesting question for Lutherans to ask of themselves, since U.S. Lutherans have such a wide range of other ecumenical engagements. As the following essay will make clear, Lutheran-Pentecostal relations have been very one-sided. They would be described more accurately as "Lutheran reactions to Pentecostalism." As we prepare for an international dialogue project and seek avenues of greater formalized cooperation between Lutherans and Pentecostals around the world, a brief analysis of these reactions may prove instructive. While many of the conditions found in North American church life are not easily replicable elsewhere, some of the confessionally-specific patterns that have emerged here do have broader resonance.

Historical Background

In the early 1960s, a charismatic revival made its way through most of the North American mainstream churches and appears to have spread to—or emerged more or less simultaneously in—other parts of the world as well. After a short delay, theologians and leaders of those churches began to meet and reflect on the nature of the revival and its implications for their traditional teaching and practice. That reflection in turn yielded an impressive array of publications. Conference papers, formal messages, and study-group results are collected in Kilian McDonnell's three-volume set, *Presence, Power, Praise: Documents on the*

[3] Pentecostals may dispute this by pointing out –with some justification—that "mainstream" American culture frequently exhibits a bias against them and against other "conservative" Christians. Whether such factors translate into an institutional disadvantage is less clear, however.

Charismatic Renewal.[4] Scores of monographs and essay collections sprang up from established church publishing houses, university presses, and even from a number of smaller printers that apparently were founded by the movement itself, such as Lutheran Charismatic Renewal Services that published Larry Christenson's *The Charismatic Renewal among Lutherans*.[5] Interest in the phenomenon seems to have ebbed during the late 1970s, especially among Lutherans, whose steady flow of publications drops off sharply after about 1978 in the U.S. International Lutheranism continued to organize consultations into the early 1980s, culminating with Carter Lindberg's report to the Lutheran World Federation written during his time at the Strasbourg Institute and published in expanded form as *The Third Reformation? Charismatic Movements and the Lutheran Tradition* in 1983.[6]

The paper trail yields remarkably little information on the renewal movement's origins. Authors like Christenson and fellow-Lutheran

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[4] *Presence, Power, Praise: Documents on the Charismatic Renewal*, 3 vols., ed. Kilian McDonnell (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1980). Many of the documents and most of the monographs mentioned here have receded from the forefront of Lutheran discourse and are no longer read widely. I am grateful to my dialogue partner Mel Robeck for sharing his own bibliography with me; it was invaluable to this historical retrospective.

[5] Larry Christenson, *The Charismatic Renewal among Lutherans* (Minneapolis: Lutheran Charismatic Renewal Services, 1976).

[6] Carter Lindberg, *The Third Reformation? Charismatic Movements and the Lutheran Tradition* (Macon: Mercer University, 1983). While at the Institute, Lindberg attended a 1981 conference for Lutheran charismatic leadership in Helsinki, an event which prompted further publications. These include a volume edited by Christenson, *Welcome Holy Spirit: A Study of Charismatic Renewal in the Church*, ed. Larry Christenson (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1987).

Erling Jorstad[7] mark its beginnings around 1960. Jorstad locates it, somewhat surprisingly as he concedes, in an Episcopal congregation. "On Pentecost Sunday, 1960, Fr. Dennis Bennett of St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Van Nuys, California, announced that he and some seventy members of St. Mark's had received the gift of baptism with the Holy Spirit and the charismatic gifts."[8] Soon after, and also in the sunny climes of California, Lutheran pastor and St. Olaf graduate Larry Christenson "received spiritual gifts" along with his wife Nordis.[9] Christenson begins his own account of the revival within a Lutheran setting: "In the summer and fall of 1961 *small* groups of Lutherans, in scattered locations around the United States, began to have what later came to be known as 'charismatic experience.'"[10]

In fact, the charismatic renewal movement that emerged in parts of Lutheranism and provoked so much discussion during the 1960s and 1970s originated neither in a Lutheran nor an Episcopal setting. Both Lindberg and McDonnell point to its Pentecostal background.[11] McDonnell's eloquent account merits quotation:

> During World War II classical Pentecostals in the United States, after generations of clawing their way up the social ladder, became part of the fabric of middle-class America. War, the great social leveler which raises up the lowly and brings down the lordly, brought classical Pentecostals into contact with every level of society. Partly because of this

[7] Erling Jorstad, *Bold in the Spirit: Lutheran Charismatic Renewal in America Today* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1974).
[8] Jorstad, 21.
[9] Jorstad, 22.
[10] Christenson, *Charismatic Renewal*, 13.
[11] McDonnell, vol. 1, 21f.; 112f. Cf. Lindberg, 187f.

> social phenomenon, the soil was ripe for the emergence of the charismatic movement in the early 1960s.[12]

Post-war Pentecostalism experienced its own revivals, McDonnell goes on to explain, and prominent among these was a healing ministry that took place from 1947 to 1958. Soon such revivals began to attract participants from mainline American churches as well. The earliest Lutheran document in McDonnell's collection, a Lutheran Church in America (LCA) report from 1962 on "Anointing and Healing" bears witness to this pre-mainline context as its commission of authors began meeting in 1959—well before the charismatic movement had emerged as a public phenomenon in mainline churches—to address issues emanating from the healing-centered revival movement. The resulting document is one of the more interesting Lutheran statements on charisms, and I will return to it later.

Jorstad's and Christenson's relative silence about the Pentecostal origins of the charismatic renewal movement that moved through mainline churches is by no means atypical, especially in light of the sympathy these two authors express for the charismatic movement.[13] While one should certainly hesitate to ascribe an intentional "whitewashing" of history to these particular authors, the omission of Pentecostalism from so many Lutheran self-descriptions is probably not coincidental.[14] As virtually all documents pertaining to the movement testify, charismatic renewal made Lutherans extremely uneasy.

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[12] McDonnell, vol. 1, 21.

[13] Christenson of course identifies with it personally. Cf. Christenson, *Charismatic Renewal*.

[14] This is less true of later Lutheran documents. During the mid-1970s, church commissions frequently used the term "neo-Pentecostal" to describe the movement. Those documents cannot be described as "sympathetic" to such developments, however (see below).

Criticisms were at times theological but at other times entirely cultural, social, or psychological. Charismatics were dismissed as being fanatics, emotionally overcharged hysterics, sectarian, subjectivist, and a whole host of other epithets. For Lutherans in the 1960s and 70s (and presumably much later), linking one's spiritual roots to Pentecostalism simply underscored those pejoratives and made the charismatic movement even more suspect than it already was. On the other hand, locating the movement's origins in an *Episcopal* church gave them an upgrade to relative safety. Even if Episcopalians, in Lutheran eyes, had no real theology, they were at least sufficiently well-bred to give the rather odd manifestations of "spiritual gifts" a tacit social endorsement. Whatever the reasons, the fact that Lutheran reflection on charismatic renewal in this literature seldom involved references to Pentecostal churches means that its *ecumenical* value is indirect at best. Lutherans may have recognized and thought about charismatic manifestations in their own congregations, but they did not connect these to Pentecostalism or examine the original Pentecostal context. Furthermore, while Lutheran *Berührungsängste* toward Pentecostals may have lessened in the U.S. since the late 1970s, the underlying sense of social and cultural difference surely remains. Even in the U.S., Pentecostals have not become "domesticated" for Lutherans to the degree that Roman Catholics, comparably "alien" forty years ago, have. Those issues of social and cultural difference are, as far as I can tell, even more pronounced in other parts of the world - and that is worth remembering as we proceed toward establishing formal dialogue. Resistance to charismatic phenomena will doubtless continue to include a wide range of non-theological motives.

Lutheran Reflection on Charisms during the 1960s and 1970s

Lutheran reactions to the charismatic renewal that was taking place within their own churches was mixed. Documents from the major Lutheran bodies in the U.S., Europe, and Africa show caution both in

rendering critical judgment as well as in endorsing the movement. Almost all the documents express some form of openness to the presence of charismatic phenomena (in *Lutheran*, and sometimes in other mainline churches; again, there is little or no mention of Pentecostals in any of the documents). That openness varies in degree from the outright embrace by persons closely involved in the renewal, such as Christenson, to a more hesitant, finger-tip approach favored by some of the synodical commissions. The latter tend to "balance" their tentative affirmations with long lists of guidelines and cautionary rehashings of Lutheran theological principles.

a. Reports by the American Lutheran Church (ALC) and the Lutheran Council

The American Lutheran Church's 1963 "Report on Glossolalia"[15] is a good example of how that pattern looked during the early stages of Lutheran reflection. The ALC began with a laudably empirical approach: the synod sent a "study group" on a fact-finding field trip. That group consisted of one theologian, who received support from both a psychiatrist and a psychologist. They were charged with the task of observing "several congregations in different states."[16] Their efforts led to a confidential report, which was followed by work of the ALC's Commission on Evangelism, producing the "Report on Glossolalia." The Report begins with four rather terse "introductory statements" that make some fairly obvious points. Word and sacraments are the means of

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[15] McDonnell, vol. 1, 57–63. Helpful is McDonnell's introduction to the report: ibid., 55–57. The report itself was also published in *Toward a Mutual Understanding of Neo-Pentecostalism*, eds. Walter Wietzke and Jack Hustad (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1973), 7–11.

[16] Ibid., 55. The use of psychologists to investigate charismatic phenomena was not unique to Lutheranism; other mainline churches did so also. Cf. the Episcopal "Study Commission on Glossolalia," McDonnell, vol. 1, 70–95.

grace; speaking in tongues is mentioned by Scripture; speaking in tongues is "not normative for salvation"; individual testimonies by individuals who witness to speaking in tongues is "respected as being valid for these individuals."[17] Next come nine brief "impressions" of the phenomena. These are best summarized by the first: "The integration of speaking in tongues into the life of a Lutheran congregation has proved very difficult."[18] The reasons for that difficulty have to do, on the one hand, with the tendency of practitioners of glossolalia to "indulge in various forms of excess"[19] and, on the other, with concomitant misunderstandings about the nature of the Holy Spirit's work: "The experience of glossolalia is no guarantee of Christian maturity and knowledge,"[20] and "If the pastor has often associated tongues and the Spirit, his sermons tend to be misunderstood, especially when he mentions the Holy Spirit."[21]

The commission's strategy for addressing resultant divisions is typical for the time: strengthening the pastor's authority. When problems occur, "the pastor's immediate, judicious, strong leadership is indispensable"; "[d]octrinal instruction must be given promptly to those needing it."[22] While even the "impressions" already contain a good amount of advice, they are followed by four pages of prescriptive "suggestions," divided into twelve points and further subdivided into twelve additional

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[17] Ibid., 58.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid. The tone of another "impression" probably encapsulates the commission's underlying attitude: "It appears to be difficult for persons who speak in tongues to be reserved about it. For a variety of reasons [left unspecified] it seems necessary to them to witness to the experience enthusiastically." Ibid, 59.

[20] Ibid., 58.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

subpoints. These detailed and occasionally nuanced suggestions aim to restore balance and order. They do not, it should be noted, seek to prohibit or eliminate glossolalia: "The Christian congregation should recognize that the spiritual life of Christians can be deepened by a variety of spiritual experiences."[23] The preponderance of advice is geared toward controlling and regulating the phenomena, however, and the commission leaves little doubt about its general distaste for and concerns about glossolalia. Members need to be alert to the "besetting sin" of self-righteousness[24]; there is "a danger of overemphasis on glossolalia of some, with an unbalanced, distorted Christian perspective as the outcome," equated with "heresy"[25]; "in places," the report warns, "good judgment has not prevailed and the 'witnessing' has deteriorated into promotion and exploitation."[26] Also unsettling is the tendency of services and meetings that feature tongues to be inordinately *long* by Lutheran standards: "Particular caution must be exercised as to the length of such meetings."[27]

The ALC Report on Glossolalia also contains a lengthy engagement with Pauline exegesis, drawing in part on statements prepared by the faculty of Luther Seminary that warns against the "dangerous hermeneutical practice" of taking "what Paul said to a particular congregation... and apply[ing] it literally and indiscriminately to congregations today."[28] Here, too, patterns emerge that reappear in most subsequent Lutheran documents on the subject. Particularly significant is the observation that speaking in tongues is not a central

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[23] Ibid., 59.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., 60.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., 61. The outburst is so absurd theologically that one wonders what state of emotional distress could have prompted its authors to make it.

aspect of Paul's theology. A process of deciding whether to allow public practice of glossalia in Lutheran worship should consider "Paul's very low estimate of the value of speaking in tongues or praying publicly in tongues as compared with speaking or praying intelligibly in public (1 Corinthians 14:13–18)."[29]

A similar point is made more a bit more even-handedly by Karlfried Froehlich in an essay published in 1978.

> The biblical material does not support the view that charismatic manifestations constitute the center of Christian concerns either then or now. Lutherans will resist being swallowed up in Pentecostalism[!]. But the biblical material does not support their complete disregard either. The real question today is that of finding a legitimate place, of making room, for such manifestations... They must have room among us. The concern for charismatic manifestations in the church is biblically grounded.[30]

Froehlich's essay appears in a collection of papers emanating from a series of national conferences organised by the Division of Theological Studies of the Lutheran Council in the U.S.A. from 1974–1976, as part of a study project on the Holy Spirit "and his manifestations in the world today."[31] The volume is one of the strongest Lutheran publications on this topic[32]; more than a decade of assimilating charismatic experiences

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[29] Ibid., 62.

[30] Karlfried Froehlich, "Charismatic Manifestations and the Lutheran Incarnational Stance," in *The Holy Spirit in the Life of the Church: From Biblical Times to the Present*, ed. Paul Opsahl (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1978), 136–57.

[31] Opsahl, 7. The Council's report, added to Opsahl's volume as an appendix, is also printed in McDonnell, vol. 2, 429–53.

[32] One caveat concerns Bernard Holm's horrendous misreading of Lutheran Orthodoxy—which, to be fair, is not atypical of scholarship of those years.

into Lutheranism has made a difference to the tone of reflection. The essays tend to be much more balanced and affirming; their critical comments appear less concerned with controlling the phenomena and more with claiming them from a distinctively Lutheran theological perspective.

Particularly noteworthy is Edgar Krentz's illuminating chapter on "The Spirit in Pauline and Johannine Theology."[33] Unlike so many other Lutheran engagements with the New Testament witness on charisms, Krentz does not seek to make judgments about the relative "value" of those gifts (how central or marginal they are to Paul's message), but instead places them within a larger context of Pauline and Johannine pneumatology. The results are interesting in and of themselves but also because they yield a nuanced approach to the charisms. Krentz distinguishes five dimensions of Paul's pneumatology—eschatological, communal, liberational, paranetic, and doxological- and thereby creates a diversified framework for welcoming, understanding, and utilizing gifts of the Spirit.[34] That approach has several important practical effects. For one, Krentz's

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Bernard Holm, "The Work of the Spirit: The Reformation to the Present," in Opsahl, 99–135.

[33] Opsahl, 47–65.

[34] For instance, Krentz's handling of the doxological context of such gifts: "The Spirit is the one prerequisite for worship in the New Testament. He is the source of all *charismata*, all spiritual gifts (I Corinthians 12:7–13); to every Christian some such gift is given (v.11). In these gifts the exalted Lord (15:45) and the Spirit (I Corinthians 12) are at work for the community. That work includes the production of visible wonders of ecstasy, glossolalia, visions, and miracles. The reality of such wonders is not contested; indeed, Paul himself sees visions in ecstasy (II Corinthians 12:1ff.) and also speaks in tongues (I Corinthians 14:18). He knows too that the Spirit is the revealer of the 'deep things of God' (2:6–16). The Spirit does wonders." Ibid., 56.

observation that "to every Christian such a gift is given"[35] counteracts the marginalizing gestures toward *charismata* visible in documents like the above-mentioned ALC report. Charisms are not by nature divisive or "hard to integrate"; they are universal, given "to every Christian." Second, Krentz does not view charismatic manifestations as an irrelevant or peripheral aspect of Paul's witness. Not only are they integral to his pneumatology as a whole, but Paul himself experiences and values such experiences—Paul "also speaks in tongues."[36]

Even Krentz, though, points out that "the Spirit is... an eminently rational and lucid force. Glossolalia, regarded by the Corinthians as *the* charisma, is put into its proper, i.e. secondary place."[37] This reiterates a consistent Lutheran concern found in virtually all documents pertaining to charisms. Theologically, that concern is grounded in Lutheran commitments to the "external word" as a regulative force to which the (equally indispensable) "inner word" is always linked. For Lutherans, there are no "inner" revelations disconnected from the external witness of Scripture. While the precise relationship of those two aspects of God's communication may be debatable—for example, are they simultaneous or temporally separate, and are they part of one cognitive process or distinguishable?—their essential linkage is not. Practically, this Lutheran concern with the normative function of the external word leads to a strong emphasis on scripturally-grounded doctrinal instruction and education. There will always be calls for a publicly communicable and verifiable dimension to Lutheran worship and spirituality; there will always be misgivings about phenomena that appear *prima facie* "subjective" or obscure. Culturally, this yields noticeable sympathies for "rationality" and "lucidity." Krentz's further explication of these factors produces a statement so quintessentially Lutheran it is almost self-

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[35] Cf. the previous footnote, above.
[36] Cf. footnote 31, above.
[37] Ibid., 57.

parodic: "And thereby the Spirit is revealed as a Spirit of propriety and order ([I Corinthians] 14:40)."[38] Of course, that view also happens to be biblical.

As a comparison between the ALC's 1963 "Report on Glossolalia" and the above-mentioned scholarly essays of the mid- to late-1970s indicates, Lutheran views on charismatic phenomena changed somewhat as their experience with these gifts deepened. The rather dismissive tone heard in 1963 had mellowed a decade later. The contrast becomes especially noticeable in comparing another document of the ALC, this one published in 1973, with the earlier "Report." The ALC had not been idle all those years but had in fact published a number of follow-up documents to its 1963 report in the meantime, thereby continuing the conversation. Now, a decade after its initial report, the synod published a document simply called "Guidelines," presented by Walter Wietzke and Jack Hustad to the ALC's Council of Presidents.[39] "Guidelines" begins in a spirit of humility seldom evident in similar documents of the early 1960s.

> These guidelines do not presume encyclical authority.[40] They are, rather, some modest principles subject to criticism, correction, and rebuttal. They are also statements which attempt to deal constructively with tensions within our church not always acknowledged or openly dealt with.[41]

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[38] Ibid.

[39] McDonnell, vol. 1, 369–74; cf. esperially the editor's introduction on p. 369.

[40] No Lutheran document has "encyclical authority"; it is interesting to note how displays of ecclesial humility can be underscored by rhetorical swipes at the papacy.

[41] McDonnell, vol. 1, 369.

Another change concerns the naming of the movement. "Guidelines" now speaks of "neo-Pentecostal Lutherans" (and "traditional Lutherans"), thereby highlighting the family resemblance with classical Pentecostals. The document itself consists of three parts, each presented in the tone of studied informality typical for the age. The first lists "Some things neo-Pentecostals emphasize that are important for the American Lutheran Church." This list includes charisms, freedom and spontaneity in worship, "the reality of God and the reality of the faith relationship," insistence on a "rigorous life of prayer," and "an emphasis on the ministry of healing."[42] The second part enumerates "Some things the American Lutheran Church emphasizes that are important for its neo-Pentecostals."[43] This list is three times as long as the first. It is also much more theological, beginning with an extended trinitarian warning against undue emphasis on one person of the Trinity at the expense of the others, continuing with an emphasis on the unity of baptism, an affirmation of the church's unity, and a call for balance between faith's "intellectual, moral, and mystical content." The section closes with a rather surprising reminder that the ALC does not acknowledge episcopal authority, believing instead in the church as a "support system" of peers. Why that insight should be especially important to neo-Pentecostals remains unclear. "Guidelines" ends with "Some things neo-Pentecostal Lutherans and traditional Lutherans should be conscious of in the pursuit of working relationships."[44] Though the style has changed, the content of these final points overlaps considerably with the warnings issued more sternly in 1963. They begin with a brief nod to the importance of diversity but quickly shift to admonitions against pride, against overemphasizing "the peripheral, e.g., speaking in tongues," and

[42] Ibid., 370.
[43] Ibid., 371–373.
[44] Ibid., 373.

against causing division.[45] Thus, while the newer document is certainly more open *pastorally* to charismatic phenomena and now reflects an ecclesial reality which, unlike that of 1963, includes established patterns "neo-Pentecostal" worship, its *theological* positions remain largely unchanged. In fact, it is striking to note how the list of neo-Pentecostal contributions in Part I includes only practical encouragements but no theological challenges. Theology appears as a discourse practiced exclusively by "traditional Lutherans" (in Part II)—and the charismatic renewal movement, judging from this document, seems to have had no discernible impact on that discourse.

b. The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS)

Around the same time that the ALC released its "Guidelines," the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod issued a report of its own, with the definitive-sounding title "The Charismatic Movement and Lutheran Theology" (1972),[46] prepared by the synod's Commission on Theology and Church Relations (CTRC). The LCMS document, along with its 1977 follow-up, "The Lutheran Church and the Charismatic Movement: Guidelines for Congregations and Pastors,"[47] constitutes one of the lengthiest and richest statements by a Lutheran church office in the U.S. during this period. That the LCMS should devote so much thought to the charismatic movement is not surprising. Missouri included within its midst a particularly dynamic and rapidly growing group of charismatic clergymen and congregations, with origins dating back to the early

[45] The list is a bit longer and also includes references to "the New Testament preeminence of love"; "the necessity of honoring canonical and noncanonical documents" including the Lutheran Confessions; as well as a final assertion that "growth comes through challenge." Ibid., 373.

[46] McDonnell, vol. 1, 321–68.

[47] McDonnell, vol. 2, 307–24.

1950s.[48] According to the authors, a 1968 gathering of LCMS charismatic pastors revealed forty-four among them who "claim[ed] to have received the baptism of the Holy Spirit"; by 1971, that number had grown to two hundred.[49]

Interestingly, the Commission makes an effort to describe the ecumenical span of the movement, drawing attention to the fact that "neo-Pentecostalism" "has spread far beyond the Pentecostal churches" and can be "found within such denominations as the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, and more recently, also the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox."[50] The movement is said to draw particular encouragement from the fact that charismatic revivals had "made inroads into certain intellectual centers in America," beginning with Yale University and spreading to Dartmouth, Princeton, and others.[51]

Theologically, the LCMS report impresses by the breadth of its analysis. Few other documents of this kind are as comprehensive in their evaluation of the charismatic movement's doctrinal implications. A few highlights should be mentioned. To begin with, the report takes a critical stance toward the notion of "Spirit baptism." While recognizing the biblical warrants for Spirit baptism, the LCMS authors introduce several qualifications: 1) such baptism always occurs post-conversion in Scripture, bestowing gifts upon people who already believed; in that sense Spirit baptism cannot be considered a precondition for or initiation into faith.[52] In fact, the report continues, "there is no suggestion of a time

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[48] According to McDonnell, vol. 1, 321; the document itself traces the movement's origins back to the Van Nuys Episcopal parish of 1960 (see above).
[49] Ibid., 325.
[50] Ibid., 324.
[51] Ibid., 325.
[52] Ibid., 333ff.

interval between baptism in the name of Jesus and receiving the gift of the Spirit."[53] The authors are at pains to ensure that Spirit baptism does not come to be "viewed as a second work of the Spirit in addition to and beyond conversion and sanctification."[54] 2) Baptism of the Spirit is never earned, "never as a blessing achieved on the basis of human effort." This is intended as a corrective to charismatic teachings that suggest Spirit baptism comes as a consequence of earnest prayer and seeking. It is also aimed to counteract notions of elitism, according to which "only those would receive baptism who met certain conditions."[55] 3) When the Bible speaks of "being filled with the Spirit," it does not link that condition consistently or programmatically to specific charismatic gifts. In fact, "the expression 'filled with the Holy Spirit,' as it used in Scripture, very frequently has no apparent relationship to charismatic gifts" at all, and "is often used in conjunction with such terms as 'wisdom' or 'faith' (Acts 6:3)."[56]

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[53] Ibid., 334.

[54] Ibid., 351. The report is not entirely consistent on this point. Its preliminary account of the biblical witness observed that, in Scripture, Spirit baptism occurs *after* conversion—suggesting that it is in fact a work of the Spirit subsequent to the grace of conversion. In its conclusions, however, the report works to reject such a notion. At stake appears to be a concern that yearning for additional *charismata* after baptism in the name of Jesus devalues that baptism and suggests that it may be insufficient. In that sense, one could speak of being filled with the Spirit in a special way after and distinct from one's conversion but that state of being Spirit-filled, while perhaps bearing fruit for the life of the church, has no ramifications for the person's salvation. If a believer already is saved by God's grace, he cannot be *more* saved by receiving additional charisms.

[55] Ibid., 335.

[56] Ibid., 336f.

The document's position on spiritual gifts is complex. On the one hand, it echoes the cessationist views held by much of the Lutheran tradition.

> While Lutheran theologians have at times differed in their understanding of the term "baptism with the Holy Spirit," they have rather consistently held that the extraordinary charismatic gifts mentioned in Acts and 1 Corinthians were no longer given after the close of the apostolic age.[57]

In fact, it affirms that position through its own exegesis, adding what McDonnell calls a note of "modified dispensationalism."[58]

> It is noteworthy that the Scripture nowhere promises or encourages us to hope that extraordinary charismatic gifts will become the possession of the Christian church throughout the centuries. The pattern set in Scripture may actually indicate the opposite. While gifts of the Spirit are spoken of throughout the Bible, different gifts were given at different times in history depending on the needs of the Kingdom.[59]

Having expressed its deep skepticism, though, the report does not reject the possibility entirely of such gifts' being bestowed in the contemporary church. While it would be inappropriate to conclude that the Holy Spirit *must* confer gifts of precisely the kinds mentioned in Scripture simply because they were mentioned in Scripture, one must remain open to the possibility that the Spirit *may* do so: "The Christian church today will accept with joy and gratitude any gift that the Spirit in His grace may

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[57] Ibid., 346.
[58] Ibid., 321.
[59] Ibid., 347.

choose to bestow on us for the purpose of edifying the body of Christ."[60] The LCMS report quickly returns to its theological comfort zone, though, when it closes the section on spiritual gifts with the following suggestion: "The church should seek the Holy Spirit and His gift where God has promised them, in the Word and sacraments."[61]

Several underlying theological concerns emerge from the LCMS text. The first, already mentioned, seeks to protect the indispensability and sufficiency of sacramental water baptism as well as its priority over any notion of Spirit baptism. The second set of concerns is christological. The text repeatedly warns that overemphasizing Christ's humanity weakens the doctrine of atonement and deprives it of its full redemptive power:

> But when His work is portrayed as though He performed it merely or chiefly as a man filled with the Holy Spirit and not as the God-man, and when the Spirit-filled Jesus is proclaimed primarily as the pattern or example of what believers filled with the Holy Spirit can do today, then we have a Christology that has parted company with the Biblical, creedal, and confessional witness to Jesus Christ. Such emphases, when carried to their ultimate conclusion, would deprive the atonement of its divine redemptive power and treat Jesus more as man's pattern for life than his Redeemer from eternal death.[62]

An additional christological concern surrounds the error of subordinationism—resulting from overemphasizing the Spirit's role in Jesus' ministry to such an extent that it subverts the doctrine of the

[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., 348.
[62] Ibid., 350.

Trinity by placing the Spirit "above" the Son.[63] A third set of concerns is related to the first, holding fast to word and sacraments as exclusive means of grace: "Beyond the Word and sacraments nothing is needed to equip the church for its task."[64] Any belief in God's revelation or bestowal of spiritual gifts apart from these *media salutis* opens the believer to charges of enthusiasm.

Beyond these and several other warnings that need not be enumerated here,[65] the document shows a positive commitment to *edification*. The report is filled with references to the need for edification—and this may well provide the most important hermeneutical key to its regard for charisms. They are fine, and even welcome, insofar as they edify the church. What is "edification"? The document prefers a narrow understanding of edification as salvifically relevant education in the gospel, "which brings the good news that the sinner is justified by grace, for Christ's sake, through faith. That is the doctrine by which the Christian church stands or falls. It is the article of faith in which all the sacred truths of Scripture converge."[66] The centrality of that interest in "Christ's saving work" guides the report's theological reflection throughout. At times, though, it does leave room for a broader understanding of edification as something that "transforms and empowers the whole life and outlook of those" who receive the

[63] Ibid., 350f.
[64] Ibid., 352.
[65] They include references to church unity (threatened by charismatic elitism), "unionism" (as when common recognition of the Holy Spirit's work appears to suffice for church unity despite lack of complete doctrinal agreement), respect for scriptural authority, and a concern that miraculous healing should not seek to "manipulate or control God." Ibid., 353–56.
[66] Ibid., 351.

Spirit,[67] or as something which benefits the church more generally.[68] Whether the term is understood narrowly or more generally, the document's commitment to edification goes hand in hand with an obvious preference for the spiritual gifts that are the clear and intelligible (and "less spectacular"[69]) gifts. Referring to scriptural lists of charisms, the report observes: "Prominent at the head of the lists are gifts of intelligent and thoughtful utterance. Prominent at the end are gifts of tongues and their interpretation."[70]

All in all, the LCMS report remains far more skeptical than welcoming toward charismatic phenomena. In that regard, it mirrors attitudes of other Lutherans a decade earlier, especially as articulated in the 1963 report of the ALC. It differs not only from that earlier report but from most similar documents by building a much more comprehensive theological foundation both for its skepticism and for its own positive commitments.

Less theological and far more hostile was another LCMS document worth mentioning. Unlike the reports of 1972 and 1977, this text, issued in 1975, did not emanate from the CTRC but from an LCMS seminary, Concordia Theological Seminary in Springfield, Illinois (which has since moved to Fort Wayne, Indiana). It is a "Policy Statement Regarding the Neo-Pentecostal Movement."[71] Speaking of the movement's "dangers," its tendency to cause "disunion," and its "disdain [for] our Lutheran

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[67] Ibid., 340. The term "edification" is not used in that sentence, but may be inferred from the context.

[68] Examples of this more general usage are too plentiful to be listed here. An example occurs in the paragraph running from p. 347 to 348, cited above (cf. n. 52). Here edification is equated with "God's presence and power in building His church," 348.

[69] Ibid., 339.

[70] Ibid., 341. This is very similar to the point made by Krentz, above.

[71] McDonnell, vol. 2, 15–22.

heritage,"[72] the statement rejects "Neo-Pentecostalism" as "non-Scriptural and "non-Lutheran."[73] It bases that judgment on a range of assumptions, said to have been formed by observing the movement on the seminary campus. These charges echo the theological concerns raised by the 1972 CTRC report (which it cites) and include allegations that Neo-Pentecostals require a second baptism (by the Spirit), base the certainty of their salvation "on signs such as tongues, prophecy, etc.," and that the movement "embraces a theology of glory."[74] While it gives little further theological or even empirical analysis to buttress its claims, the statement does prescribe a rather remarkable policy:

> All applicants seeking student status at our seminary shall be asked whether they claim to have received Baptism with the Spirit in the Neo-Pentecostal sense of that term, and whether they claim to possess one of the special charismatic gifts referred to in I Corinthians 12.[75]

Those that do may still be admitted as "general students" in the M.Div. program "but are ineligible for the program leading to certification by the faculty for a call... and hence for placement in a congregation or agency of the Synod."[76] All students who are already enrolled in that latter program are "cautioned against entertaining Neo-Pentecostal beliefs" and are asked, prior to certification, to give "assurance that they do not entertain, much less teach or propagate, Neo-Pentecostal beliefs or participate in Neo-Pentecostal forms [of worship]."[77] Any neo-Pentecostal student who might still be inclined to attend Concordia

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[72] Ibid., 18, 21.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid., 17.
[75] Ibid., 18.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid., 19.

Seminary is "obligated to refrain from participating in Neo-Pentecostal worship forms."[78] While it is certainly within the prerogative of a church-owned seminary to issue restrictive measures of such a kind, these particular policies do, one must admit, evoke the spirit of a very different age. The severity of those policies is all the more surprising given the comparatively inconclusive attitude toward "Neo-Pentecostals" by the CTRC report from which the statement purports to draw its guidance.

c. Conclusions

All of the above-mentioned documents from the history of U.S. Lutheran engagement with the charismatic movement have in common that they are not, strictly speaking, documents of ecumenical *dialogue*. Their authors are concerned with addressing, and to varying degrees with regulating, charismatic phenomena within their own churches. Within that context, they are almost always documents written by persons of authority in the traditional church institutions. While some of the church-mandated commissions included charismatics, the resulting documents inevitably allow traditional perspectives to dominate. That has an indelible impact on the contents of those documents. Charismatics tend to be viewed as a "problem," something to be investigated and "addressed." Psychiatrists are dispatched to take notes at worship services, seminary faculties wrack their brains over "incursions" by forces held to be *prima facie* alien to Lutheranism, and church officials devise "guidelines" for interacting safely with the unsettling "other." A basic precondition of dialogue —namely, that two equal partners sit across the table from each other—is not only not met, it is not even considered. Given those imbalances, it is a wonder, and perhaps an indirect testimony to the vibrance of the charismatic movement itself, that some of the ensuing texts are as good as they seem.

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[78] Ibid.

The main value of these intra-Lutheran documents lies in their ability to raise representative concerns, issues that are likely to reappear in an international Lutheran dialogue with Pentecostals. Several of those concerns are fairly easy to dispatch, in my view. One example is that of cessationism—the view that the Holy Spirit's bestowal of spiritual gifts either changed or ceased altogether at the end of the apostolic age. The LCMS report of 1972 bases much of its skepticism toward the movement on that assumption. And yet there seems to be no obvious reason to accept such a premise. The LCMS text certainly makes no effort to provide one apart from observing that Lutherans had traditionally taught cessationism. Once we question that assumption, though, we pull the rug out from underneath many of the LCMS text's other criticisms. If one supposes that the Holy Spirit does indeed continue to bestow charisms of healing, tongues, and prophecy alongside "less spectacular" gifts of patience, joy, and love, then we must exercise a great deal more caution in dismissing claims of their present-day manifestations.

Many of the remaining criticisms are based either on anecdotal evidence or on conjecture, attributing theological positions to Pentecostals without first hearing a Pentecostal account. To the first group belong assertions that charismatics and Pentecostals are "divisive" and "elitist." Some undoubtedly are. But that does not mean that the movement as a whole shares such qualities or exhibits them inherently. (It is also more than a little ironic to hear such charges from American Lutherans, themselves hardly a model of ecclesial cohesion, particularly as the LCMS was reeling from an epic split within its own ranks). Connected to charges of elitism are those of "subjectivism," along with the contention that charismatic manifestations are inherently individualistic and anti-communal. Such accusations are so illogical, given the congregational setting (usually within communal worship) of most such manifestations, that they hardly merit further attention; a visit to a local Pentecostal church should suffice to lay most such concerns to rest. To the second group belong charges like those of subordinationism,

"Third Article Mentality," lack of emphasis on the saving work of Christ, and so on. Without a Pentecostal (or even Lutheran charismatic) dialogue partner, how would a commission be able to support such charges? How could it know? One has the recurring feeling that some of the theological concerns raised by texts such as those of the ALC (1963) and LCMS (1972) had developed a logic and dynamic of their own. These certainly were serious concerns—but were they real?

Other issues could furnish legitimate topics for dialogue. These include the relationship between Spirit baptism and water baptism. They also include questions of discernment, "testing the spirits." One frequently heard Lutheran concern has to do with the degree of normativity attributed to specific gifts, especially glossolalia. Can one be saved or can one be a "good Christian" without this gift? Is speaking in tongues "evidence" of being filled with the Holy Spirit? If so, what does its absence prove?

The status of charismatic manifestations vis-à-vis the means of grace, namely word and sacraments, opens still other sets of issues. Drawing on their confessional writings, Lutherans insist on the exclusivity of these two *media*. If they are to develop an appreciation for the role of charisms in the life of the church, then Lutherans will need to find other ways of accounting for them dogmatically and to be reassured that Pentecostals hold to similar distinctions. The approach taken by the Lutheran-Pentecostal Study Group presented here, focusing on "how we encounter Christ," might prove helpful. "Encountering" Christ, while central to the life of faith, is, as a theological category, sufficiently non-specific to include things that do not need to be classified as means of salvation. One could speak instead of "occasions of encounter," "means of witness," and so forth.

A constructive Lutheran engagement with charisms could be based on a christological foundation and contain reference to the cross.[79] A Lutheran understanding of charisms and of how we encounter Christ in them will likely be built upon notions of *theologia crucis*. From this standpoint, one can also begin to make sense of Lutheran concerns with what they take to be charismatics' "theology of glory." One's expectation and interpretation of charisms will likely differ depending on which of these two trajectories one favors. Traditional Lutherans will be less concerned with possibilities of evidence or ecstasy and more with carrying spiritual burdens and strengthening or empowering commitment to service. These trajectories need not be mutually exclusive but they do, in my view, need to be identified as different.

Lutherans will always prefer indications that God is a God of order and the Spirit a Spirit of "propriety."[80] They will probably always exhibit cultural preferences for intelligibility, education, and institutionalization. But even these can go hand-in-hand with a deeper appreciation of charisms. One of the more interesting aspects of North American Lutheranism's very first document on the charismatic movement, the LCA's 1962 paper on "Anointing and Healing"[81] mentioned at the beginning of this essay, concerns its appreciation for the medical profession. To the authors of this report, the healing-centered revivals that occurred in the U.S. during the 1950s revealed a fundamental truth: that health of spirit and health of body are connected. Here, as in other positive appreciations of the charismatic movement, concern for the

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[79] One of the more interesting Lutheran documents on the charismatic movement took shape in the German Democratic Republic, commissioned by the *Theologische Studienabteilung* of the East German Lutheran churches in 1978. While not included in the present case study, it should be mentioned as a particularly helpful reference on this point. Cf. McDonnell, vol. 2, 453–83.

[80] Cf. Krentz, n. 34, above.

[81] Cf. McDonnell, vol. 1, 21–55.

"whole man" comes to the fore, in part as a reaction against the dissection and fragmentation that can come as a result of one-sided applications of science, in part as a frustration with "dry" or static organized spirituality. One of the authors of the LCA document, the medical doctor Robert Witmer, made a practical suggestion based on that concern. In cases of illness, "[t]he physician and other members of the health team, therefore, should always work closely with the pastor, for their work is so closely related in helping sick people to become whole."[82] Witmer's suggestion, like so many other sound ideas for the church, has probably seen too little application. It is, however, directly linked to the issue of charisms.

Lutherans can learn from Pentecostals that charisms are in fact bestowed upon all Christians and are not limited to particular offices. Those charisms, furthermore, are diverse. Lutherans need to do a better job not only of acknowleding them but also of integrating them into the life of the church. For Lutherans, that may well mean creating institutional frameworks for their more "orderly" organization. An excellent opportunity affords itself, in my view, in the Lutheran understanding of diakonia as Christ-inspired service. Diakonia depends upon charisms. In fact, it depends upon the full range of spiritual gifts—they all contribute to a christocentric approach to service, to encountering Christ in the most needy and least fortunate among us. But it also depends upon the people who receive and exercize those gifts. Those people could well be called "deacons" and include not only physicians but other servants, whether "professional" or non-professional, "educated" or uneducated, ecstatic or "sober"—Pentecostals or Lutherans. Their charisms would fill the church, serve the world, and be as proper and orderly as any Lutheran could wish.

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[82] Ibid., 27.